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No. 1

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

FOUNDED BY
PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN THE ROMANCE
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by
JOHN L. GERIG

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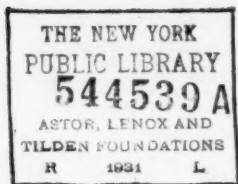


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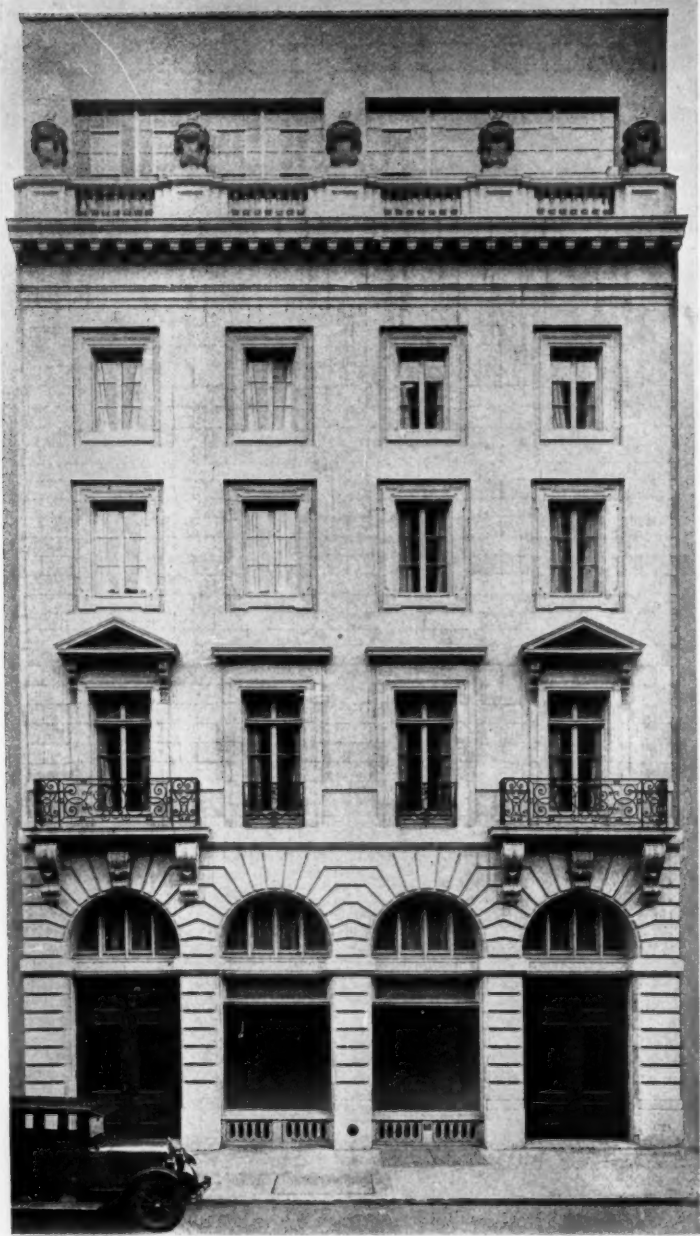
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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XXI—JANUARY-MARCH, 1930—No. 1

UNPUBLISHED FRENCH LETTERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE twenty-one letters edited in the present article were written by the following persons: Mme de Maintenon, Maupertuis, Buffon (three), d'Alembert (three), Diderot (two), La Harpe (two), the abbé Morellet, the duc de La Rochefoucauld, Mirabeau *fils*, Lavoisier, Marat, Grimm, Marmontel, and Toussaint Louverture (two). The originals of the letters are to be found as follows: twelve in the Harvard University Library, five in the Dreer Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and four in the Boston Public Library.

In reproducing these documents I have respected the authors' spelling and punctuation even to the most minute details. If such a method requires justification, I cannot do better than quote here the vicomte d'Haussonville:

"Je me suis décidé, non sans hésitation, à laisser aux nombreuses lettres que je citerai l'orthographe du temps. Sans compter que ces lettres conservent mieux ainsi leur physionomie véritable, on remarquera que l'orthographe varie avec la condition sociale et avec l'âge des correspondants. C'est ainsi que les personnes qui tiennent à la bourgeoisie la mettent plus correctement que les grands seigneurs ou les grandes dames, et que les jeunes femmes font moins de fautes que leurs mères ou grand-mères."¹

The letters that follow are arranged chronologically.

I. [MME DE MAINTENON TO A NUN OF THE CONVENT OF THE VISITATION AT CHAILLOT]

On November 2, 1700, Charles II, King of Spain, by his last will and testament, called to the Spanish throne Philippe, duc

¹ Le vicomte d'Haussonville, *Le Salon de madame Necker*, Paris, 1882, I, 26, note 1.

d'Anjou, second son of the Dauphin. After three days of reflection, Louis XIV gave his consent to the duc d'Anjou and introduced him to the court with these words, "Messieurs, voici le roi d'Espagne."

The following letter was written by Mme de Maintenon when the news of Philippe's elevation to the throne was quite recent.²

18 Novembre [1700]

Je vous remercie tres humblement ma chere soeur de toutes les bontés que vous me marques a mon retour vous auriez entendu de belles choses sil y en a de belles sur la terre si vous aviez esté a St cir car levenement du royaume d'Espagne passé sans guerre³ dans la maison de france et tout cella déclaré par nostre roy, lunion de la famille royale les pleurs des trois freres⁴ sur leur separation la ioye de M le Dauphin de ceder un grand royaume a son fils, vous voyes ma chere soeur que voila matiere a de belles narrations vous en auriez pleuré de ioye et bien remercié dieu mais cest ce que vous ferés bien a Chailliot⁵ Nos filles⁶ me paroissent fort aises de me voir Je ne sai pas encore de leurs nouvelles par elles mesmes on massure en general que tout va bien Je donnerai vostre lettre a Mr de Barbezieux⁷ et ie lui parleray des entreprises des religieux. Dittes sil vous plaist a ma sr M Elisabeth. . . .⁸

II. MAUPERTUIS TO —?

Mercredy 17.⁹

Dieu scait ce que c'est que ce Mieux dont je me flattois il y a 4 jours. J'ay recraché, étouffé hier pis qu'à l'ordinaire. Je voudrois pourtant aller à Potsdam, ne fust ce que pour changer de lieu et essayer mes forces pour un plus grand voyage.¹⁰

² In all the letters that follow I shall forego entirely the use of the word *sic*.

³ Within a year France was plunged into the ruinous War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714).

⁴ Louis, duc de Bourgogne, Philippe, duc d'Anjou, and Charles, duc de Berry, sons of the Dauphin Louis, and grandsons of Louis XIV and Marie-Thérèse.

⁵ The site of the village of Chaillot is now in the sixteenth *arrondissement* of Paris.

⁶ *Les filles de Saint-Cyr*, as Mme de Maintenon calls them elsewhere.

⁷ Louis-François-Marie Le Tellier, marquis de Barbezieux (1668-1701), the son of Louvois, was at this time *secrétaire d'État* in the War Department.

⁸ Autograph letter (incomplete), Harvard University Library, Sumner 26, II, no. 76. 2 pp. 4to.

⁹ January 17, 1753, fell on Wednesday.

¹⁰ Cf. La Beaumelle, *Vie de Maupertuis* (Paris, 1856, p. 169): "Octobre, 1752. M. de Maupertuis, épuisé par de continuel crachements de sang, avait quitté

Faites moy donc le plaisir de voir l'appartement du chateau et de me dire en quel etat il est, ce qui s'y trouve, et ce qui y manque.

Je vous garde ici votre exempl. de mon livre. Je ne l'ay envoyé à Potsdam qu'au Roy et à monseigneur le prince Henry.¹¹ Amenés moy en revanche lors que vous reviendrés . . . Non voila le jardinier de l'Academie¹² que j'envoye porter des pesches au Roy que je vous prie de charger de m'amener un nommé Melicerte qui est en pension chez Stolbec, envoyés chercher ce chien et remettés le luy avec une corde; c'est une envie de malade qui m'a pris de le voir quoyque son education ne soit pas finie. C'est Melicerte et non Mydas que je vous demande.

Le conseiller privé ne m'a point ecrit quoyque je lui eusse donné des lettres pour quelques uns de mes amis. Je m'etonne que le Marquis n'ait pas vendu ses terres à Voltaire.¹³

Voyés je vous prie mon appartement. Vale. Ama
MAUPERTUIS.¹⁴

III. BUFFON TO THE PRÉSIDENT DE RUFFEY

The correspondence between Buffon and Gilles-Germain Richard de Ruffey began in 1729, when the former was twenty-two years old and the latter twenty-three, and continued until 1786.¹⁵ The *Correspondance inédite de Buffon*, published by

Potsdam et s'était enfermé dans sa maison de Berlin, en attendant que le printemps et un rayon de convalescence lui permissent le voyage de Saint-Malo." La Beaumelle's biography of Maupertuis was written shortly after the latter's death in 1759. On December 10, 1752, Frederick the Great wrote to Maupertuis: "A présent ne pensez qu'à vos poumons, et ne sortez pas de votre chambre par le froid présent" (*Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Paris, Garnier, 1879, XXXVII, 535).

¹¹ The second brother of Frederick the Great.

¹² In 1744 Frederick the Great charged Maupertuis with the reorganization of the Academy of Berlin. In compensation for this service, Maupertuis was named president of the Academy and given an apartment in the royal palace, together with a pension of 15000 livres.

¹³ I find no reference in contemporary correspondence to any such transaction. The quarrel between Maupertuis and Voltaire was at its height when this letter was written.

¹⁴ Autograph, Boston Public Library, Ch. G. 2. 30. 4 pp., last two pages blank. 4to.

¹⁵ Buffon died in 1788, Ruffey in 1794. Concerning Ruffey, see the critical apparatus of the following work: *Histoire secrète de l'Académie de Dijon (de 1741 à 1770)*, composée et annotée par le président Richard de Ruffey, extracts published and annotated by Maurice Lange, Paris, Hachette, 1909. M. Lange says (p. 16): "Voltaire, Buffon: voilà, en vérité, les deux noms dont Richard de Ruffey paraît obsédé, et voilà comme les pôles entre lesquels semble osciller son activité intellectuelle."

Henri Nadault de Buffon (Paris, 1860), contains seventy-three letters written by Buffon to Ruffey.

A MONSIEUR
MONSIEUR DE RUFFEY PRESIDENT
A LA CHAMBRE DES COMPTES
RUE CHAPELOTTE¹⁶

A DIJON

J'ai reçu mon cher Ruffey les deux queues de vin que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer et je vous en fais tous mes remerciemens; je compte vous faire toucher au vingt du mois prochain les quatre cens vingt cinq livres que je vous dois pour les huit pieces et la feuillette, car je crois que c'est toujours cent francs la queue que vous avez compté me vendre ce vin; je vous avouerai cependant qu'il s'en faut bien que je le trouve cher a ce prix et si vous en vouliez d'avantage cela ne m'empêcheroit pas d'en prendre car je le trouve tres bon pour vin d'ordinaire.¹⁷ On a aussi ressenti icy une petite secousse de tremblement de terre le 9^e Decembre a deux heures et demie apres midy,¹⁸ elle a été si legere que tres peu de personnes s'en sont aperçues.

Nos respects je vous supplie a Madame de Ruffey.¹⁹ Vous savez mon cher president combien je vous suis attaché et c'est assurément pour toute ma vie.

BUFFON.²⁰

le 24^e Dec. 1755.

IV. [D'ALEMBERT TO THE PRÉSIDENT HÉNAULT]

Although d'Alembert and the Président Hénault were friends for years, there was always an undercurrent of ill feeling in their relations. On the one hand, as Henri Lion says, d'Alembert "ne pardonnait pas au président d'avoir eu la bonne fortune

¹⁶ Ruffey occupied the former *hôtel* of the Counts of Neuchâtel, rue Chapelote (now 33 rue Berbisey).

¹⁷ Several letters written by Buffon to Ruffey in 1753 and 1755 deal with wine.

¹⁸ The Lisbon earthquake occurred only six weeks before these lines were written.

¹⁹ Anne-Claude, daughter of Frédéric de la Forest, baron de Montfort, chevalier de Saint-Louis. Monsieur and Madame de Ruffey were the parents of the unfortunate Sophie de Monnier, Mirabeau's mistress.

²⁰ Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Dreer Collection, *Letters of Scientists* (arranged alphabetically). 4 pp.; third page blank, address on p. 4. 4to. Postmark on p. 4: *Montbard*. Buffon spent about eight months every year on his estate at Montbard, in Burgundy.

d'avoir connu et estimé avant lui Mme du Deffand, et peut-être d'avoir été aimé";²¹ on the other hand, Hénault took umbrage at d'Alembert's supercilious attitude towards his person and his literary productions.²² There was one point, however, on which d'Alembert and Hénault were in perfect accord: both men had the highest regard for their common friend, the comte d'Argenson, and both remained faithful to the fallen minister until his death in 1764.

The following letter was written to Hénault by d'Alembert during d'Argenson's exile from Paris.

ce Mercredi à midi.
17 Mai 1758.

J'ai reçu, mon cher et illustre confrere, votre invitation pour lundi prochain, & vous croyez bien que je ne l'oublierai pas.

Je vous supplie instamment de faire parvenir cet ouvrage²³ à la personne à qui il est dédié.²⁴ Pardonnez moi de vous en avoir fait un secret, vous devez en conclure que j'en ai fait un à tout le monde, mais à tout le monde sans exception. J'ai été vingt fois tenté de rompre le silence pour vous seul, mais j'ai appréhendé que votre amitié pour moi ne me détournât d'une démarche, dont les ennemis de Mr. d'argenson ne me sauront pas bon gré.²⁵ J'ai eu soin que l'Épître fut tournée de manière à ne point déplaire au Roi,²⁶ je me soucie fort peu qu'elle soit agréable à d'autres, & je permets aux grands distributeurs des

²¹ H. Lion, *Le Président Hénault (1685-1770)*, Paris, 1903, p. 81.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 82-84, 96, 123, 124, note 1.

²³ The second edition of d'Alembert's *Traité de dynamique* (1758), the first edition of which, dedicated to the comte de Maurepas, was published in 1743.

²⁴ That is, to the comte d'Argenson. D'Alembert was also the author of the dedicatory epistle to d'Argenson that appeared in the first volume of the *Encyclopédie* (July 1, 1751).

²⁵ On February 1, 1757, as a result of the machinations of Mme de Pompadour, Louis XV exiled d'Argenson to Ormes, near Saumur.

²⁶ In his dedicatory epistle, d'Alembert, while voicing his gratitude to d'Argenson, succeeds well in not offending Louis XV. On June 7, 1758, Voltaire wrote to d'Alembert: "Vous avez fait en digne philosophe de dédier la *Dynamique* à un disgracié. Ce n'est pas qu'il entende un mot de votre livre; mais il sera plus flatté de votre attention qu'il ne l'eût été quand il donnait des audiences" (*Œuvres complètes de V.*, XXXIX, 453).

On May 22, 1758, d'Argenson thanked d'Alembert for the dedication as follows: "Le témoignage publié des sentimens d'un homme aussi illustre que vertueux réunit, Monsieur, tout ce qui est le plus capable de flater le coeur et l'esprit. Je ne puis le reconnaître que par l'amitié la plus tendre et la plus sincère . . ." (*Buletino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche*, Rome, Sept.-Oct., 1885, p. 523).

graces, males et femelles, de me refuser ce que je leur demanderai: j'écrirai demain à Mr. d'argenson une lettre²⁷ que je vous enverrai, et que je vous prie de lui faire parvenir avec cet ouvrage. Si j'ai fait une faute en vous tenant cette dedicace secrette, je repare cette faute de mon mieux en faisant passer la dedicace par vos mains; je ne puis choisir auprès de Mr. d'argenson un interprete plus fidele de mes sentimens.²⁸ Vous aurez certainement le premier exemplaire de cet ouvrage, des que j'en aurai de reliés, ce qui sera, je l'espere, à la fin de la semaine. Gardez moi, je vous prie, le secret jusqu'à ce moment. J'apprends que Mr. d'argenson s'interesse pour un de nos candidats à l'academie françoise;²⁹ et cette raison suffiroit pour me determiner, quand je n'en aurois pas d'autres; mais je n'en dirai rien, pour n'etre pas importuné de sollicitations. à dieu, mon cher & illustre confrere, je vous embrasse et vous aime de tout mon cœur.

P.S. je n'ai point encore mon ordonnance que Mr. de Boullongne³⁰ m'a tant promise. Il faut apparemment y renoncer, je vivrai de mon économie et des bienfaits du Roi de Prusse;³¹ je n'en aurai pas moins d'obligation à Mr. d'argenson;³² mais je me flatte que Mr. de Boullongne n'exigera rien de moi.³³

V. [DIDEROT] TO SUARD

On January 18, 1766, Diderot wrote to Sophie Volland:

"Suard³⁴ est un homme que j'aime; c'est une des âmes les plus belles et les plus tendres que je connaisse; tout plein d'esprit,

²⁷ In this letter, d'Alembert says: "Je vous dois sans doute des excuses d'oser vous dédier cet ouvrage sans vous en avoir demandé la permission. . . . Je vous prie d'être bien persuadé que de tout ce que j'ai écrit, ou que j'écirai jamais, rien ne me sera plus cher . . . que les trois premières pages de ce livre" (*Œuvres philosophiques, historiques et littéraires de d'Alembert*, Paris, 1805, XIV, 352).

²⁸ Concerning the friendship of Hénault and d'Argenson, see H. Lion, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-117.

²⁹ D'Argenson, before his disgrace, had had jurisdiction over Academies, theatres, libraries, and pensions to literary men. Now, although in exile, he was still making his influence felt in Paris.

³⁰ Jean de Boullongne (1690-1769), *contrôleur général des finances* from August 25, 1757, to March 5, 1759.

³¹ Frederick the Great granted d'Alembert an annual pension of 1200 *livres* in 1754.

³² In 1756 Louis XV, thanks to d'Argenson's recommendation, gave d'Alembert a yearly pension of 1200 *livres*.

³³ Autograph, Boston Public Library, Ch. G. 2. 1. 4 pp., last page blank. 4to. Some one has written on the manuscript: "Lettre écrite par M. D'alembert à M. le Pt. Henault."

³⁴ Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Suard (1734-1817), critic and journalist. He and the abbé Arnaud were directors of the *Gazette de France* from 1762 to 1771.

de goût, de connaissances, d'usage du monde, de politesse, de délicatesse . . ."³⁵

The following letter shows the degree of familiarity that existed between the two men.

A MONSIEUR
MONSIEUR SUART
DIRECTEUR GENERAL DE LA GAZETTE
DE FRANCE
AU BUREAU DE LA GAZETTE
DE FRANCE

Je vous prie, Monsieur et cher negligent, de vous ressouvenir que vous avez entre vos mains deux relations sur les convulsionnaires,³⁶ et cela depuis deux ou trois mois, quoique vous m'eussiez promis de me les restituer au bout de deux ou trois jours. Si par hazard elles vous sont a present inutiles, remettez les au porteur. Je vous salue, vous embrasse et vous aime de tout mon coeur. Je vais me mettre tout a l'heure a la besogne que je vous ai promise. Voila tous nos amis dispersés. Nous serons donc une eternité sans nous voir. S'il faisoit beau un de ces jours et que vous me donnassiez rendezvous aux Thuilleries, sur le midi, je crois que je m'y rendrais et que nous ferions un bon diner chez l'un des Suisses, ou sous les chevaux.³⁷ Voyez si vous voulez que je vous doive quelques heures agréables.³⁸

VI. LA HARPE [TO PIERRE-MICHEL HENNIN]

Early in the year 1768 Voltaire created a sensation, first by

³⁵ *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, published by J. Assézat and Maurice Tourneux, Paris, Garnier, 1876, XIX, 217.

³⁶ The *convulsionnaires* were fanatical Jansenists in France in the eighteenth century, who gained notoriety by falling into convulsions supposed to be accompanied by miraculous cures.

³⁷ In speaking of the Tuileries Gardens and the Swiss Guards stationed there before the Revolution, Lefeuve says (*Les Anciennes Maisons de Paris sous Napoléon III*, Paris, 1873, I, 14): "On y trouvait à boire, ainsi que dans le café de la Terrasse . . . ; il était même permis à servir à souper jusqu'à dix heures du soir dans les cantines des gardes."—*Sous les chevaux* probably refers to an eating-house sign. The *Académie royale d'équitation (le Manège)* was just outside the Tuileries Gardens.

In a letter written to Sophie Volland on July 25, 1762, Diderot relates a part of a conversation that he had with Suard, "assis au frais à côté de lui, sur une chaise, aux Tuileries" (*Œuvres complètes*, XIX, 79).

³⁸ Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *French Prose Writers* (arranged alphabetically). 4 pp.; pp. 2 and 3 blank, address on p. 4. Small 8vo. The date of this letter is about 1766.

expelling from Ferney his guests Jean-François de La Harpe³⁹ and his young wife, and shortly after by banishing Madame Denis to Paris. A report soon spread that Voltaire's harsh treatment of La Harpe was due to the latter's theft of two of Voltaire's manuscripts: the second canto of the satirical poem *La Guerre de Genève* and *Mémoires pour servir à la vie de Voltaire*. The sudden banishment of Madame Denis was not so easily explained. One rumor had it that the sixty-year-old widow was infatuated with La Harpe and was not wholly free from guilt in the affair of the manuscripts; another rumor was that Madame Denis' extravagant management of the household at Ferney had aroused her uncle's wrath. As tongues wagged throughout France, Voltaire remained in seclusion at Ferney, with no company except his servants, his secretary Wagnière, and Père Adam, a former Jesuit, who, in exchange for board and lodging, graciously allowed his host to defeat him at chess.

The following letter was addressed by La Harpe to his friend Pierre-Michel Hennin, *résident de France à Genève*, at the time when Voltaire's actions were an enigma both to his friends and to the public at large.

a Paris ce 14 avril [1768]

Monsieur,

Vous piqués beaucoup ma curiosité, mais vous ne la satisfaites point. Vous m'annoncez une étrange solution du problème qui nous embarrasse tous, et vous ne me la donnés pas. Il me semble pourtant qu'elle ne peut pas être de nature a n'être pas mise sur le papier. Me remettre a vôtre arrivée a Paris, c'est me rejeter un peu loin, et je n'ai pas besoin de cela pour la trouver beaucoup trop tardive.⁴⁰

³⁹ Up to this time La Harpe, who was only twenty-nine years old, had published a number of failures and a fairly successful tragedy, *Le Comte de Warwick* (November, 1763). For some unaccountable reason Voltaire took a liking to the young writer, kept him for months at Ferney, gave him advice, and recommended him highly to his own friends. La Harpe repaid these kindnesses with ill humor, insolence, and ingratitude. For further details, see L. Perey and Gaston Maugras, *La Vie intime de Voltaire aux Délices et à Ferney (1754-1778)*, Paris, 1885, pp. 411 ff.; Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, 15 avril 1768.

⁴⁰ Cf. Perey and Maugras, *op. cit.*, p. 420:

"Les suppositions allaient toujours grand train au sujet de la solitude de Voltaire. Hennin finit par croire que l'incident du manuscrit [of *La Guerre de Genève*] jouait le plus grand rôle; accablé de questions par La Harpe, qui était fort inquiet, il lui écrivit avec beaucoup de réserve:

Tout Paris a su la scène édifiante qui s'est passée dans l'église de Ferney.⁴¹ On en parle bien diversement. Quant a moi qui connais l'homme, je n'en suis point du tout étonné. *Tout est permis pour la bonne cause.* Mais les gens rigides ne pensent pas de même ici, et l'on traite cette action de fausseté inutile.⁴² Je suis bien sensible au zèle que vous avés mis a me deffendre.⁴³ Il faut qu'il ait opéré, ainsi que celui de mes amis, et des siens, car il m'a écrit une lettre de trois pages⁴⁴ de sa main fort tendre et fort grondeuse, et il m'a envoyé le certificat⁴⁵ qu'il me devait en toute equité, et qui a confondu les calomnies des méchans et des gazettes.

Je ne doute pas qu'avec vos salons, vôtre caractere et vos

" 'Il n'y a pas quatre jours, Monsieur, que j'ai la solution du problème qui vous a embarrassé, ainsi que tout Paris. Elle est étrange, soyez-en sûr, et ne me citez pas. Depuis que Ferney est vide j'ai vu quelquefois le *Patron* qui a voulu vendre sa terre et ne l'a pas fait, et ne le fera, j'espère, pas. Croiriez-vous que j'ai eu à défendre votre cause vis-à-vis de lui, et que vous m'avez coûté plusieurs lettres? Je vous contera tout cela à mon premier voyage qui sera, j'espère, au mois d'octobre.' "

⁴¹ Cf. Grimm, *Correspondance litt.*, 1^{er} mai 1768:

" . . . M. de Voltaire avait fait ses pâques le jour de Pâques même avec toute la ferveur d'un prosélyte et toute la pompe d'un seigneur de paroisse. Il avait fait venir de Lyon six gros cierges, et, les faisant porter devant lui avec un missel, escorté de deux gardes-chasse, il s'est rendu à l'église de Ferney où il a reçu la communion de la main de son curé. Après cette cérémonie, il a adressé aux assistants un discours pathétique sur le vol. . . . Le bruit que cette nouvelle a fait à Paris et à Versailles pendant plusieurs jours est incroyable."

Hennin wrote to La Harpe: "Vous saurez sans doute que M. de Voltaire a fait ses pâques, rendu le pain bénit et même harangué les paysans; qu'il plante, arrange, voit très peu de monde, désole ses domestiques et n'a pas l'air content. Sa communion n'a fait fortune nulle part . . ." (Perey and Maugras, *op. cit.*, p. 421).

For the probable explanation of the "scène édifiante . . . dans l'église de Ferney," see *ibid.*, pp. 418 ff.

⁴² See, for example, Tronchin's comments on the "polissonneries de Voltaire avec son curé," *ibid.*, p. 424.

⁴³ For a letter to Voltaire in which Hennin defends La Harpe, see *Correspondance inédite de Voltaire avec P.-M. Hennin*, Paris, 1825, p. 137.

⁴⁴ This letter is not in the Moland edition of Voltaire's works.

⁴⁵ This certificate was a *Déclaration*, written at Ferney on March 31, 1768, in which Voltaire branded as calumny an article that had appeared in the *Gazette d'Utrecht* on March 18. The writer of this article asserted that Voltaire had driven La Harpe and his wife from Ferney because the future critic had "abusé de la confiance de son bienfaiteur en lui enlevant furtivement différents manuscrits précieux" (*Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, XXVII, 17).

In spite of the *Déclaration*, Voltaire had no doubt concerning La Harpe's guilt. See his letter to Monsieur et Madame de Florian, *ibid.*, XLVI, 8. Later, Voltaire forgave La Harpe and also allowed Madame Denis to return to Ferney.

études vous ne soyés heureux partout, et je vous en fais mon sincère compliment.

J'ai l'honneur d'être très respectueusement,
Monsieur, vôtre très humble
et très obeissant serviteur

DE LA HARPE.⁴⁶

VII. DIDEROT TO MME NECKER

On August 18, 1765, Diderot wrote to Sophie Volland:

"A propos, savez-vous bien qu'il ne tient qu'à moi d'être vain! Il y a ici une Mme Necker, jolie femme et bel esprit, qui raffole de moi: c'est une persécution pour m'avoir chez elle . . . Mme Necker demeure au Marais. C'est une Genevoise sans fortune, qui a de la beauté, des connaissances et de l'esprit, à qui le banquier Necker vient de donner un très bel état."⁴⁷

The friendship of Mme Necker and Diderot is one of the strangest in the literary history of France. On the one hand, the daughter of a Protestant clergyman, a former preceptress, "une femme austère et pure que l'ombre même d'une médisance n'a jamais effleurée et sous la plume de laquelle ne se trouve jamais un mot qui blesse les convenances";⁴⁸ on the other hand, an atheist, the author of *La Religieuse* and *Les Bijoux indiscrets*, the lover of Mme de Puisieux and Sophie Volland, and one of the most radical and most licentious of the Encyclopedists. Once acquainted with Mme Necker, Diderot esteemed and respected her; he spoke of her as "une femme qui possède tout ce que la pureté d'une âme angélique ajoute à la finesse du goût."⁴⁹ In Diderot, Mme Necker admired the brilliant writer and the ebullient conversationalist; her primness and her prudishness had a restraining effect on his unbridled pen. Diderot's letters to Mme Necker are not only couched in the most decent language, but they bear an imprint of reverential

⁴⁶ Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *Letters of Poets of Continental Europe* (arranged alphabetically). 4 pp., last two pages blank. 4to.

⁴⁷ *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, XIX, 170.

⁴⁸ Le vicomte d'Haussonville, *Le Salon de madame Necker*, I, 168.

⁴⁹ Quoted by d'Haussonville, *ibid.*, I, 163.

humility that it would be difficult to find in his other writings. The vicomte d'Haussonville, speaking of Diderot's fear of shocking Mme Necker, says:

"Je ne connais rien qui fasse plus d'honneur à madame Necker que le respect d'un homme aussi peu respectueux que l'était Diderot, et rien non plus qui fasse autant d'honneur à Diderot que cet aveu et ce regret sincère de tant d'indécences jetées au hasard dans ses livres."⁵⁰

Diderot's letter to Mme Necker follows:

Mr. Diderot presente son tres humble respect a Madame Necker. Il ne peut accepter la partie de St. Ouen,⁵¹ parce que sa fille⁵² est malade, et que lui s'est engagé a passer le reste de la semaine a Boulogne, avec son ami Mr. Grimm. Madame Necker dira surement, comment un bon pere comme Mr. Diderot peut-il s'eloigner de son enfant, lorsqu'il ne se porte pas bien? C'est que cet enfant est convalescent, et que le pere a besoin d'aller rasseoir un peu son coeur et son esprit, dans le sein de l'amitié, et d'essayer si la solitude des champs qu'il a toujours aimée ne lui apprendroit pas a supporter celle dans laquelle il est tombé a la ville et qui lui pese toujours egalement, parce qu'il a epuisé la ressource consolante que sa tendresse avoit imaginée. Cette ressource que peu de peres ont employée consistait a visiter le nid des jeunes oiseaux et a y rapporter dans son bec la plume ou le brin de paille qui y manquoit. Il ne manque plus rien au nid des jeunes oiseaux; et le pere a ressenti le vuide qu'il remplissoit par la bienfaisance. Il est redevenu triste, lorsqu'il a cessé d'avoir de la sollicitude. Bonjour, Madame, occupez vous serieusement de votre santé.⁵³ Ne vous livrez pas trop a l'extreme sensibilité de votre ame. Tachez de vegeter un peu.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 176.

⁵¹ The château de Saint-Ouen, which was beautifully situated on the Seine between Paris and Saint-Denis, was purchased by M. Necker from the creditors of the prince de Soubise. For a description of the château and the pleasures enjoyed there by the Neckers and their guests, see *ibid.*, I, 125-126.

⁵² Diderot's daughter, Marie-Angélique, was eighteen years old at this time (1772). The sole survivor of four children, she was idolized by her father. On November 22, 1768, Diderot wrote to Sophie Volland: "Je suis fou à lier de ma fille" (*Œuvres complètes*, XIX, 306). Marie-Angélique was the author of *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Diderot*, the manuscript of which circulated in Paris as early as 1787 (published in Germany in 1813; in France in 1830).

⁵³ Mme. Necker suffered from extreme nervousness.

Rien n'est plus sain que l'apathie.⁵⁴ Conservez au pere et a ses enfants⁵⁵ l'interet que vous avez bien voulu y prendre et dont ils ne seroient pas indignes, s'il suffisoit, pour le meriter, d'en bien sentir le prix. Mon projet est de revenir a Paris lundi prochain; nous serons alors tous a vos ordres, excepté le jeune epoux que ses affaires particulieres tiendront a cheval une huitaine de jours qui lui paraîtront bien longs, car il aime sa femme a la folie, comme il en est aimé. J'ai reçu un petit billet que je crois de Mr. de St. Lambert⁵⁶ tant il est doucement ecrit et mal peint.⁵⁷ J'auerois ete bien aise de le voir et de le remercier de quelques heures de plaisir que je lui dois; oserois je vous prier de m'acquitter. Si quelques uns de ces jours Madame Necker me faisoit signe, j'arriverois avec un petit papier dont je crois que la lecture l'amuseroit, parce qu'il a un but honnete, et qu'il n'est pas sans interet. Il a ete fait au milieu de la peine et du trouble. Je crois cependant qu'il n'y parait pas.⁵⁸ Je lui reitere mon respect.⁵⁹

Ce 15. octobre 1772.

VIII. L'ABBÉ MORELLET [TO MME GEOFFRIN?]

This letter was written about the time of the appearance of the first volumes of Le Tourneur's translation of Shakspeare (1776). The abbé Morellet, who had spent some time in England, wrote from Paris to Lord Shelburne on March 12, 1776:

"M. Suard vous parlera d'une traduction de Shakespeare, dont nous sommes bien mécontents tous les deux. Nous mériterions bien mieux le nom de barbares que nous vous donnons si libéralement, si nous étions contents de voir votre grand Shakespeare ainsi défiguré. Mais soyez sûr que les gens de goût qui connoissent l'original sont indignés, et que ceux qui ne le connoissent pas le sont aussi du mauvais françois des traducteurs, qui n'écrivent pas dans notre langue, mais dans je ne sais quel jargon calqué sur les expressions de la vôtre, sans grâce, sans vérité, sans simplicité, et contre toutes les lois de la syntaxe et du goût. Le pauvre Garrick sera fou. Je ne vois pas trop com-

⁵⁴ This from Diderot!

⁵⁵ Diderot's daughter and her young husband, the marquis de Vandeuil.

⁵⁶ Jean-François de Saint-Lambert (1716-1803), author of *Les Saisons*.

⁵⁷ *Peindre* here means *écrire*, *former les caractères*.

⁵⁸ It is impossible to determine what work Diderot had in mind.

⁵⁹ Autograph, Harvard University Library, Norton 010. 4 pp., last page blank. 8vo. The documents in the Charles Eliot Norton Collection are arranged alphabetically.

ment il pourra se défendre d'appeler en duel M. le comte de Catuelan et ses associés, pour en avoir raison." ⁶⁰

Although the name of the addressee is wanting in the following letter, I am inclined to think that the lady was Mme Geoffrin. ⁶¹

Madame

Je suis très reconnoissant de la complaisance que vous avez eue de lire le manuscrit brouillé de mes observations sur Shakspeare. ⁶² Le desir que vous montres qu'on oublie les fautes des grands hommes est bien digne de vous et je le partage mais avec une restriction que vous ne pouvez pas refuser d'admettre. Lorsqu'on veut nous donner les fautes des grands hommes comme des beautés, lorsqu'on veut trouver dans ces fautes mêmes les modeles et les principes de l'art, il me semble qu'il est necessaire alors de s'armer de toute la severité de la critique pour defendre les interets du bon gout. ⁶³ Vous savez, Madame, que ces circonstances sont precisément celles où j'ai écrit ces observations. Messieurs les traducteurs ne paroissent pas disposés à continuer leur bravade. ⁶⁴ Je les attendois aux volumes suivans. Mon manuscrit devient dès lors inutile mais je suis très bien payé de

⁶⁰ *Lettres de l'abbé Morellet à Lord Shelburne*, Paris, 1898, pp. 106-107. In the beginning, Le Tourneur and Jean Fontaine-Malherbe were only the assistants of the comte de Catuelan. Concerning their translation of Shakspeare, M. Jusserand says: "L'œuvre était due surtout à Le Tourneur; son nom paraît sur le titre à partir du t. III; elle était très supérieure à celle de La Place, quoique fort loin de la scrupuleuse exactitude qu'on exige de nos jours. Même alors, quelques libertés par trop grandes, prises avec le texte, furent blâmées" (*Shakspeare en France sous l'ancien régime*, Paris, 1898, p. 288, note 1).

⁶¹ In the letter to Lord Shelburne cited above, the abbé Morellet says: "Mme Geoffrin a eu une espèce d'attaque d'apoplexie qui nous a fort alarmés. Elle est mieux. Nous avons dîné auprès de son lit, M. Suard et moi, hier. . . ." In his *Mémoires* (Paris, 1821, I, 84), Morellet speaks of Mme Geoffrin as "cette femme estimable et bonne, à qui j'ai dû, pendant près de vingt années, une partie des agréments de ma vie, et de véritables bienfaits." When Mme Geoffrin died (October 6, 1777), she left to Morellet, Thomas, and d'Alembert each a life annuity of 1275 livres.

⁶² In Morellet's *Mémoires* (II, 445), mention is made of this manuscript: "*Observations sur la nouvelle traduction de Shakspeare* (celle de Le Tourneur)."

⁶³ The translators, in their *Épître au roi*, praised the grandeur and the originality of Shakspeare's genius. This epistle, says M. Jusserand, "montrait un enthousiasme [for Shakspeare] qu'on n'avait pas vu encore" (*op. cit.*, p. 289).

⁶⁴ Morellet was mistaken. The publication of Le Tourneur's translation was not completed until 1783. Morellet's *Observations*, on the other hand, has never been published.

ma peine par les choses obligeantes que vous m'écrivez et je ne la regretterois pas quand je ne l'aurois prise que pour vous.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect, Madame,
 Votre très humble
 et très obeissant serviteur
 L'ABBÉ MORELLET.⁶⁵

Vendredi.

IX. LE DUC DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD TO
 [BENJAMIN] FRANKLIN

From the time of Franklin's arrival in Paris in 1776⁶⁶ until his death in 1790, the duc de La Rochefoucauld⁶⁷ carried on an intimate correspondence with him. The following note was written about 1777.

Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld est chargé par Madame sa mere⁶⁸ de demander à Monsieur Franklyn cinq ou six exemplaires de la *Lettre du Banquier hollandois*,⁶⁹ qui fut lue Lundi dernier à l'hotel de la Rochefoucauld. Si Monsieur Franklyn n'étoit pas engagé Lundi prochain et qu'il voulût venir y dîner, on auroit grand plaisir à l'y recevoir, et on le prierait de vouloir

⁶⁵ Autograph, Harvard University Library, Norton 010. 4 pp., last two pages blank. 4to.

⁶⁶ Franklin resided in Paris from December 21, 1776, to July 12, 1785. He also visited Paris in the summer of 1767, and spent July and August, 1769, in that city.

⁶⁷ Louis-Alexandre, duc de La Roche-Guyon et de La Rochefoucauld d'Anville (b. 1743), became a member of the Académie des Sciences in 1782. One of the most intelligent leaders of the opening years of the French Revolution, he was obliged to flee from Paris in 1792 on account of his moderate views. While passing through Gisors, he was stoned by a mob in the presence of his mother and his wife, and died later from his wounds. Always a warm friend of the United States, he published the following translation: *Constitutions des treize États-Unis de l'Amérique* (1783). For the relations of Franklin and the duc de La Rochefoucauld, see Edward Everett Hale and E. E. Hale, Jr., *Franklin in France*, Boston, 1887, Index. For a number of letters from the duc de La Rochefoucauld to Franklin, see *Calendar of the Papers of B. F.*, Philadelphia, 1908, Index.

⁶⁸ Marie-Louise-Élizabeth-Nicole de La Rochefoucauld, duchesse d'Anville. For a letter from her to Franklin, see *Calendar*, II, 251.

⁶⁹ The *Lettre d'un Banquier hollandois*, which appeared in *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* (VII, vii ff.), a periodical directed from 1776 to 1779 by Benjamin Franklin, Court de Gébelin, Robinet, and others, discusses the financial credit of Great Britain and the United States. The author concludes thus (p. xix): "Tout pesé, il paroît qu'attendu l'industrie générale, l'économie, la richesse, la prudence & la probité de l'Amérique, elle est une débitrice beaucoup plus assurée que la Grande-Bretagne, dont les empruns ruineux décèlent sa pauvreté & la ruine de son commerce."

bien proposer à Monsieur Deane ⁷⁰ et à Monsieur son petit fils ⁷¹ d'y venir aussi. S'il y avoit quelque nouvelle d'Amérique le duc de la Rochefoucauld espere que Monsieur Franklyn voudroit bien les lui mander. ⁷² Jeudi matin.

(To be continued)

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⁷⁰ In February, 1776, Silas Deane was sent to France by Congress as a business agent. On account of extravagant contracts made by him, he was recalled in November, 1777. He left Paris on April 1, 1778.

⁷¹ William Temple Franklin served as private secretary to his grandfather during the latter's entire stay in Paris.

⁷² Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *French Prose Writers*. 2 pp., second page blank. 8vo.

LA JEUNE FILLE VIOLAINE

THE EVOLUTION OF A THEME, ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE DRAMA OF PAUL CLAUDEL¹

THE theme of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* is one which long pre-occupied Paul Claudel. It furnished him the subject-matter of two dramas written at widely separated periods, *La Jeune Fille Violaine* (1892) and *L'Annonce faite à Marie* (1912), a rehandling of a second version of the former play. The first version of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* remained in its manuscript form until 1926, when it was published by the Editions Excelsior.² Up to that date, the play was known in a revised version, which came out in 1900, later in *L'Arbre* in 1901, and, finally, in the *Théâtre* in 1911-12. So, for twenty years from the composition of the original version in 1892 to the performance of *L'Annonce faite à Marie* in 1912, the figure of the heroic Violaine hovered in the mind of the dramatist and took its definitive features only after a long process of slow gestation.

From the standpoint of literary significance, *La Jeune Fille Violaine* can undoubtedly be considered the first play truly Claudelian in technique and spirit; *Tête d'Or* (1889) and *La Ville* (1890) represent an art which the author soon tried to forsake for one more in accordance with his genius. Accordingly, a comparative study of the three treatments of this theme cannot fail to throw interesting sidelights upon Claudel's technique at different stages of its evolution, especially if such a study takes into consideration its later developments and applications as exemplified in his last plays.³

¹ The writer takes pleasure in expressing his appreciation to Miss Mary C. Shemorry, of the Milwaukee Public Library, who kindly read the manuscript with critical care and made suggestions concerning the English style. Her assistance was such a generous one that it could not be passed in silence.

² Paul Claudel, *La Jeune Fille Violaine*. Première version inédite de 1892, avec préface de Jean Royère, 3^e édition, Editions Excelsior, 1926, XI-168 pp.

³ In his preface to the original version, Jean Royère has broached the subject. In a broad synthesis pointing out the possibilities of the problem, he indicated some

As far as length is concerned, the two versions of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* have remained substantially the same; *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, however, is somewhat longer. The fundamental idea underlying the plot in the three texts has been preserved identical in its main developments, the leit-motiv is always the triumph of Divine Love over the Profane in a conflict which brings to a clash the heroisms and prohibitions of spiritual life and the urges and cravings of instinctive life. The struggle between the opposing forces assumes different proportions and unfolds itself through different manifestations and against different settings. Important modifications have been made by the author in the course of time. Characters have been eliminated or transformed to fit better with the ripening or deepening of his conceptions. As a result, episodes have been added or dropped, and the wording itself has not escaped significant changes.

Of all the characters falling within the scope of this study, none can be said to have evolved in the various *remaniements* as much as Violaine. Here, as later in the case of Pierre de Craon, one can notice a steady aggrandizement and elevation from the purely human to the highly mystical plane. In the first version, she is an earnest and innocent peasant girl, ignorant of the ways of supernatural life, and unaware of the designs of grace upon her. Her personality is overshadowed and relegated into the background by that of her father, on whose spiritual strength she is entirely dependent. In the second version, she relies much more on her own powers. Initiated into the secrets of mystical life, she is a saint illumined by direct and conscious possession of divine light and wisdom. Spontaneously, and without worrying about the inevitable results, she allows herself to be won over to her mission by the sacramental kiss which she receives from the leper Pierre de Craon. In the last treatment of the theme, the heroine has grown into a full understanding of her vocation and soars so high in the ethereal regions of im-

of the distinguishing features of the first and second versions, but without entering into a detailed discussion and without making more than very casual references to *L'Annonce faite à Marie*. As far as the stylistic evolution, the replacing of the three texts in the history of Claudel's work and the statement of their significance are concerned, he did not even touch the subject. His treatment, intended only as a preface, was necessarily sketchy.

manent spirituality that she is no longer a mere human being. Confirmed in the possession of the divine spirit, she stands absolutely sure of herself and of her strength.

The character of Pierre de Craon who, under the rustic name of Eloi Baube, is a modest and unassuming if not almost negligible figure in the first version, has undergone an evolution similar to that of Violaine. In the original treatment, the vivifier, the transmitter of divine grace is Anne Vercors. Later, Pierre de Craon is stripped of his humanity, elevated above other mortals and becomes the ardent lover of Violaine, her strength and her inspiration. Spiritualized as it is in the second version, his figure is still more so in *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, where cut away from the company of his fellow-men and freed from material cares, he becomes in the temporal realm a *père d'églises* and, in the spiritual, a doctor and a confessor of his faith, a victim of his mission. The exquisite beauty of his inspired hymns, exposing the ways of inner life, give *L'Annonce faite à Marie* a touch of sublimity not to be found in the previous treatments of the theme.

The aggrandizement of Pierre de Craon and Violaine, it must be said, was done to the detriment of Anne Vercors. Whatever was added to them in the later versions was simply taken away from Violaine's father, whose figure assumes less imposing proportions as the two others take on full development. Introduced first under the biblical figure of a patriarch, concerned with the temporal and spiritual welfare of his people, he presents the medieval intermingling of mystical raptures and burlesque outbursts. In the later treatments, the mystic wonderment is more sober, and the burlesque motive disappears almost entirely. Although less important and less poetic than in the first version, where he is the central pillar upon which is superimposed the whole dramatic structure, he fits in more harmoniously with the essential tenets of Claudel's doctrine. His philosophy of life and his conception of the supremacy of the spirit are based upon close logic and not upon mysterious impulsions and intuitions. Moreover, his figure is sketched with deeper strokes and in more relief. In *L'Annonce faite à Marie* especially, the ethereal-like halo has been cast aside and the features have been chiselled with a firmer hand.

In direct opposition to the disinterested and noble figures of Violaine, Pierre de Craon and Anne Vercors, stands Mara who symbolizes the ways of the flesh or the promptings of the material world in conflict with that of grace and spirit. Given up entirely to earthly pursuits, she becomes even more passionate and relentless in the successive *remaniements*. In the first version, Mara does not try to motivate or justify her crime against her sister; in the second, she asserts that her act of violence was unavoidable, nay, that it was necessary if she wanted to keep her husband all to herself. To zeal and ambition, she adds in *L'Annonce faite à Marie* envy for those persons or things that are obstacles to the achievement of her aims. She becomes, at times, a skeptic, if not an unbeliever, and she wields the arms of sarcasm and irreverence.

Her husband, Jacques Hury, is a very different character. The dramatist has depicted him as a robust and unsophisticated peasant, possessed with sound commonsense and limited understanding of idealistic principles. Unwilling to take any chances, he follows what seems to him the safest and most probable side of any question. In the second version, his fundamental traits of character are somewhat tempered with strong emotionalism culminating in a lyrical effusion which may be considered one of the most beautiful passages of the entire play. The final characterization presents poise and moderation coupled with remarkable mellowness. The tendency on the part of the playwright seems to have been to eliminate those traits which suggested too much emotivity and lack of sentimental discipline.

These last remarks bring the study of the main characters and their development to a conclusion.⁴ The differences in

⁴ At this point of our study, it may not be without interest to point out the changes made to the names of the characters. In the second version of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* and in *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, Bibiane became Mara, Jacquin Uri Jacques Hury, and Eloi Baube Pierre de Craon. Eloi Baube was a suitable name for a humble peasant but an aristocratic appellation was considered more suggestive of the respect and consideration due to an engineer or an architect entrusted with a divine mission. The more rustic and popular form Jacquin Uri has been replaced by Jacques Hury, as a natural result of the general tendency toward greater refinement and decorum. Bibiane was stripped of her common peasant name to assume the unusual and symbolic one of Mara. Should we see in this last substitution a trace of Oriental influence, as Mara is identified in Buddhism with Satan, or the principle of evil?

portrayal have been motivated by the greater symbolic significance gradually given to Violaine. As the play grew more mystical in atmosphere and meaning, the other characters were necessarily subordinated in their evolution to that of Violaine and underwent transformations to give the latter more relief and more importance as the central figure of the play. A few characters of secondary importance were also added, dropped or modified to fit in with new episodes or changes of atmosphere, but one need not study them as they are totally insignificant from the standpoint of plot and action.

The modifications brought to the settings and the background of the action are most interesting for they are entirely in keeping with the changes undergone by the characters and reflect the same preoccupations on the part of the author. In the first version, the action takes place at no definite time of history and is set against a bucolic background where grotesque and sublime, ridiculous and lofty are found side by side. At the thought of Violaine's marriage Anne Vercors gives vent to his happiness in remarks and stories to children of a decidedly burlesque tone. The rustic element also appears with a long folk tale which Violaine relates to the children.

As a consequence of the omission of the rustic and burlesque episodes, in addition to the transformations undergone by the characters, the second version of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* presents an atmosphere of deeper spirituality. The first version did not offer such a harmonious interpretation of earthly and mystical motives but more of an incongruous juxtaposition of dissimilar and repellent elements. The rough edges left unpolished gave the play an aspect of utter primitiveness which has been greatly reduced in the second treatments, where the action has assumed more unity and concentration.

• The tendency toward simplification of action and spiritualization of atmosphere has also inspired Claudel with numerous and most important modifications to the framework of *L'Annonce*

The fact that the second version of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* was published in 1899-1900 might give this conjecture more than a mere appearance of likelihood. At that time, Claudel had already passed several years in the Far East as a diplomat, and was just writing his *Connaissance de l'Est*, which came out the following year.

faite à Marie. Here, the action no longer takes place in modern times, as in the second version, of *La Jeune Fille Violaine*, but centers around Monsanvierge in the Middle Ages. The hill of Monsanvierge with its cloister symbolizes purity, prayer and self-denial. The heroes of the drama—Violaine and Pierre de Craon—are introduced in a prologue presenting the essential data around which the plot is woven. From the second act, the play takes the appearance of a liturgical office. It is noon, the hour of perfect peace. A woman's voice is heard from the summit of the tower reciting the Latin text of the *Salve Regina*. Violaine appears clad in a hemp dress, wrapped in a dalmatic of gold cloth decorated with blue and red flowers, the colors of hope and sacrifice, and wearing a diadem on her head. In the third act, the reading of the French text of the Christmas office by Mara and the singing in Latin by the Angels' Choir heard only by Violaine permeates the action with an atmosphere of mystical grandeur not found in previous treatments. Clearer than in *La Jeune Fille Violaine*, Pierre de Craon's explanation of his mission at the end of the play has retained, nevertheless, the same wealth of symbolism. Deprived of its huge and involved figures and metaphors, it is more in conformity with the requirements of dramatic technique and stagecraft. The closing of the action with the exaltation of Violaine by Pierre de Craon and Anne Vercors is most fitting and in perfect harmony with the spirit of the play. As can be readily seen from the preceding remarks, *L'Annonce faite à Marie* is a miracle play where the human element has been minimized as much as possible. Found side by side with the divine in the first version, reduced considerably in the second, it has almost disappeared in *L'Annonce faite à Marie*. Accordingly, the plot has been simplified and the action has become more unified and dramatic.

These important changes made to the general structure of the drama necessarily involved certain modifications of the text. Stylistic details had to be reworked to harmonize with a new setting or a feature receiving more emphasis in a character. Lack of space in a study of this nature prevents, unfortunately, one from quoting and analyzing long extracts. Yet, a few references to typical *refontes* will furnish ample confirmation of

Claudiel's constant striving toward greater formal perfection by a rehandling of imagery and a fuller development of rhythmical measures. For instance, upon reading in both versions of *La Jeune Fille Violaine, eh bien*, the text of Anne Vercors' apostrophe to his wife, *O femme*, . . . ⁵ one cannot help noticing that, although similar in their underlying ideas, they differ in wording to an appreciable degree. The author eliminated or modified in the revision those expressions or images, which were too realistic, too direct, so as to give the entire passage a more poetic touch either by the amplification of images or metaphors too concise in their original form or by the substitution of a smoother word or epithet. In addition to the greater flexibility of the diction, the thought became clearer. It is interesting to note that all the rhythmical measures in the second version have as points of support the conjunction *et*: *et voici*, *et puis*. From the standpoint of prosody, this represents a considerable progress over the original text with the heavy *voici que* and *et voici que*. The elimination of those two *que* which slow down the movement was a happy one. There are also numerous cases where a passage has been completely elaborated in the second version to develop or stress a statement made by one of the characters. Among others, the speech in which Anne Vercors asserts his intention of giving Violaine as a wife to Jacques Hury is quite illustrative of this process.⁶ The text has been considerably lengthened in the later treatment. Not only does the additional material reflect greater conviction and authority on the part of Violaine's father, but it also gives us, and very appropriately, a moral picture of Jacques Hury about whom we hear for the first time. The development has made it possible for the playwright to change a very matter of fact passage into a more poetic one. Claudel improved still more upon this passage when he wrote *L'Annonce faite à Marie*. In the final revision, he was concerned with the addition and amplification of rhythmical elements. An examination of the long lyrical monologue in which Anne Vercors expresses his joy of having fulfilled faithfully his lifework might also serve as a basis for a proper appreciation of

⁵ Version 1, act 1, pp. 1-2; version 2, act 1, pp. 27-28.

⁶ Version 1, act 1, pp. 3-4; version 2, act 1, p. 29.

Claudél's ability to improve on passages of an already remarkable artistry.⁷ The broad and catching measure of the first version has become sweeping in the revision, a masterpiece of exquisite lyricism. The study of the corresponding passage in *L'Annonce faite à Marie* would show that these characteristics of stylistic refinement have been accentuated to a marked degree in the final revision.⁸ The calm and powerful enthusiasm of Anne Vercors is garbed in the smoothest and most magnificent language. The elaborate metaphors of the previous version have been simplified, and hence a corresponding development of emotional intensity and artistic tenor.

The greeting of the *Song of Songs* found in both versions of *La Jeune Fille Violaine*⁹ presents notable modifications in its later form, where it is permeated with more enthusiasm and youthful lyricism. It is sufficient to read the two texts in succession to realize to what extent they differ. Instead of the more repressed outpouring of the first version, we find in the second a lyrical outburst where the beauty and charm of his fiancée have inspired Jacques with a more flowery and poetic imagery. Later, the passage was dropped entirely in *L'Annonce faite à Marie*.

We might continue to bring forth additional evidence to the effect that, with the rehandlings of the theme, there has been a very definite stylistic evolution based upon transformation undergone by action and characters. It would be useless, however, to mention and analyze pages or paragraphs indefinitely. The examples already cited and explained prove sufficiently Claudél's striving for simplicity and refinement of expression. More especially in *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, the attempt to establish a proper balance between thought and expression has induced him to extend the scruple of revision to such details as the polishing of a sentence, the recasting of a metaphor, or the softening of a rhythm.

The three treatments of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* are of especial significance inasmuch as they show the gradual unfolding of the

⁷ Version 1, act 1, pp. 13-14; version 2, act 1, pp. 40-42.

⁸ *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, act 1, pp. 60-62.

⁹ Version 1, act 11, p. 51; version 2, act 11, p. 59.

chrysalized thought of the author. Much progress has been made since *Tête d'Or* (1889) and *La Ville* (1890) with their obscure language and breathless rhythm. The theme of *La Jeune Fille Violaine*, especially in its last treatment, is remarkably free from the artificialities which can be found on almost any page of the previous plays. With *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, it seemed that the dramatist would throw away the clogs which he had been dragging since the beginning of his career. The further progress made in that direction in *L'Otage* (1914) constituted more than a promise, almost a realization. The play contained admirable parts, above all the Cornelian-like second act. It was stamped with unusual simplicity of style and dramatization of plot. But the strange psychology, the abstruse symbolism and often unrestrained lyricism of *Le Pain dur*, *Le Père humilié*, and *Le Soulier de Satin*¹⁰ show us, however, that Claudel has remained essentially the man of his first works and that he failed to achieve again the wonderful stylization of *L'Annonce faite à Marie*.

In the last treatment of *La Jeune Fille Violaine*, the dramatic qualities were enhanced. The incongruous mixture of repellent elements, the long monologues or dialogues of a lyrical trend, the rhapsodical and exoteric language disappeared. The play has no dramatic probability; yet, it can be considered a great miracle play. It has a unity and a compactness which are not to be found in the other dramatic works of Claudel. Although they are types, the characters are definite and clearcut. A notable feature is their number and their essential importance. In most of Claudel's plays, all the action revolves around one or two characters and the others are deprived of any individuality of their own: Cébès, Simon, Besme, Cœuvre, Lala, Yse, Badilon or Pensée never take any definite shape; they are just as hazy at the end as at the beginning of the action. The explanation of this evolution is to be sought in the fact that the earlier plays were concerned with the study of special aspects of truth, while

¹⁰ The entire play has not been published as yet. The first act or *journée* appeared in 1925 in the collection *Le Roseau d'Or*, Plon. Cf. *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 18 avril 1925, Frédéric Lefèvre, *Une heure avec Paul Claudel*. The author reproduced this interview in his *Sources de Claudel*, Lemerrier, 1927, pp. 131-164.

the trilogy of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* is devoted to a consideration of the whole network of Christian doctrine. *Tête d'Or* (1889), *La Ville* (1890), *L'Échange* (1894), *Le Repos du Septième Jour* (1896) and *Le Partage de Midi* (1906) are fragments of a vast fresco which the author completed and brought together in the definitive treatment of *La Jeune Fille Violaine*. The latter is the complete epic of Christian life; omnipresence of God, priority of the claims of spiritual life, pre-established scheme of the universe, doctrine of harmony and order in the fidelity of man to his vocation, the very kernel of Claudel's mystical system, have received their clearest, most powerful and most artistic exposition in *L'Annonce faite à Marie*. The dramas written afterward, *L'Otage* (1914), *Le Pain dur* (1918), *Le Père humilié* (1920), reverted to the episodic or fragmentary character of the earlier ones.

This feature could hardly be overemphasized for, in this regard, *L'Annonce faite à Marie* constitutes the very synthesis of Claudelian Art. Range of doctrine, abstraction of thought, clearness of expression and intensity of dramatic interest have been brought together in a compromise, and the attempt to integrate into an artistic unit elements apparently dissimilar has been most successful. Claudel solved this difficult problem in such a way as to surrender the least possible of that which is most typical of his personality. This is probably his greatest and most significant contribution as a dramatic author. He brought new esthetic values to French literature. Had he stayed entirely within tradition, his work would not have been so original and so meaningful. Whatever may be the fortune of his drama, he will always be remembered as the author of *L'Annonce faite à Marie*. This should be sufficient to his glory. The perfect expression of his full personality was achieved only after three painstaking attempts and twenty long years of meditation and striving. But the effort was worth while, and on no other occasion could the Latin saying *Vita brevis, ars longa* be quoted more appropriately than in reference to *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, conceived in 1892 and completed in 1912.

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WASHINGTON IRVING AND ITALY

WASHINGTON IRVING'S first approach to Italian literature was one of the most delightful experiences of the author's early youth. This took place in 1792 when a copy of Hoole's translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, which had just been published, came by chance into his hands. Its many tales of romantic adventure and fantastic journeys, its vivid descriptions of innumerable battles and tournaments, and the interesting accounts of endless exploits of romantic heroes and heroines made a tremendous impression upon young Irving's mind. Indeed, all this stirred up his enthusiasm to such a pitch that he would often try to imitate the feats of arms of which he had been reading, and sallying forth into his yard with wooden sabre to engage in single combat with some playmate, he would shout with a threatening tone:

"Where'er my footsteps go, my deeds proclaim,
War is my sport, and Rodomont my name."¹

Irving's introduction to Ariosto was followed by an intimate acquaintance with other Italian authors, particularly Dante and Petrarch. His interest in the latter poet became so great that during a journey through France in 1804 he made a special trip to Vaucluse, in order to visit the famous spot where some of the Italian poet's most important works had either been produced or at least conceived. The deep regret which he experienced in failing to achieve the purpose of his pilgrimage there is clearly shown by the following extract from a letter to his nephew.

"I set off for Avignon," he writes, "full of enthusiasm at the thought of visiting the tomb of Laura, and of wandering amid the wild retreats and romantic solitudes of Vaucluse. . . . I inquired for the Church of Cordeliers that contained the tomb of the belle Laura. Judge my surprise, my disappointment, and my indignation, when I was told that the church, tomb, and all,

¹ *Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, by his nephew Pierre M. Irving, London, H. J. Bohn, 1864, vol. I, p. 12.

were utterly demolished in the time of the revolution. Never did the revolution, its authors and its consequences, receive a more hearty and sincere execration than at that moment. Throughout the whole of my journey I had found reason to exclaim against it for depriving me of some valuable curiosity or celebrated monument, but this was the severest disappointment it had yet occasioned."²

In 1804 Irving left France for Italy. He landed at Genoa on the 17th of September and remained there for eight weeks. Hall Storm, an old friend of his, who was then the American Vice-Consul in that city, introduced him to its élite society which cordially received him. This marked the beginning of a period of intellectual and social enjoyment which was to continue throughout his sojourn in that country. Genoa's magnificent palaces, churches and gardens, its many architectural wonders and the gracious hospitality of its people afforded Irving considerable enjoyment and made him feel that "in such a delightful environment it would be impossible for any one to be otherwise than happy."³

Previous to his departure from Genoa Lady Shaftesbury gave him some letters of introduction which she had obtained for him from some of the nobility to their friends in Florence, Rome, and Naples, but instead of proceeding directly to these cities, Irving sailed for Sicily, which especially attracted him because of its romantic and inspiring atmosphere. When he reached Messina, the ship on which he had sailed was put under quarantine. During this term of isolation he devoted most of his time to studying Italian and to reading a number of books on Sicily which he had succeeded in securing from shore.

Upon being released he continued his journey through the island and later through the other southern provinces of Italy.

In the course of this journey young Irving clearly shows how deeply influenced he must have been by his previous reading of works of fiction by certain authors who, giving vent to their exalted imagination and to their fondness for the sensational, greatly exaggerated the prevalence of bandits in Italy and the

² *Op. cit.*, I, 39.

³ *The Story of an Italian.*

acts of brigandage committed by them.⁴ For as he was passing through that territory he was constantly obsessed by the idea that at every turn he would be confronted by some fierce looking bandit whose only thought was to assassinate the tranquil and harmless traveller. The little huts scattered here and there in the distance seemed to him like savage dens, a refuge for homicides, fratricides, infanticides, and the like. Not daring to venture forth alone, therefore, in the midst of so many dangers, he wisely provided himself with an efficient and reliable escort, consisting of a large number of guides and muleteers. The whole company, armed to the teeth, proceeded very cautiously on their way, but of course nothing happened.

The peaceful outcome of such an expedition, however, was not enough to reassure Irving, for sometime later he again gave evidence of the terrible fear to which he was a prey. While travelling through the Abruzzi, he was obliged, for lack of better quarters, to put up at one of the most isolated houses in that district. During the night, he was aroused by a mysterious knocking. The first thought that occurred to him was that bandits were trying to get into the house, in order to attack him. He at once called his servant, and the two, armed with pistols, rushed to the door, threw it open, and made ready to fall upon the intruders. But it was only a stray and famished dog looking for shelter and food.

Contrary to his expectations, Irving failed to have at any time any of the hair-raising experiences which he had anticipated.

⁴ It may be worth noting in this connection that bandits were a favorite topic not only for writers, but also for artists. "Before I embarked for London," declares Washington Allston, who as yet had not visited Italy, "my favorite subjects, with an occasional comic intermission, were *banditti*. I well remember one of these, where I thought I had happily succeeded in cutting a throat! The subject of this previous performance was robbers fighting with each other for the spoils, over the body of a murdered traveller,—and clever ruffians I thought them. I did not get rid of this *banditti* mania until I had been over a year in England. It seems that a fondness for subjects of violence is common with young artists. One might suppose that the youthful mind would delight in scenes of an opposite character. Perhaps the reason of the contrary may be found in this, that the natural condition of youth being one of incessant excitement from the continual influx of novelty—for all about us must at one time be new—it must needs have something fierce, terrible or unusual, to force it above its wonted tone" (*The Artists of America* by C. Edwards Lester, p. 9, New York, Baker and Scribner, 1846).

Instead of the occasional brigand, robber or highwayman, whom one might encounter in Italy as well as in any other country at that time, he met with peaceful, honest, and hard-working people. As a result of this, Irving could not but modify his views of Italian *banditti*. 'So that in his *Tales of a Traveller* we have a strikingly different conception of them from that which had been conveyed by previous writers. In this work there are indeed ample references to murders, robberies, acts of plundering and extortion, abductions and other outrages attributed to this "desperate class of men," but we are given to understand that they are based on prevalent rumors, rather than on actual facts.

The bloody tales which are served up with every meal by the innkeeper of the Inn at Terracina are received with the utmost incredulity on the part of his guest, the Englishman, and the various reports relative to the frightful experiences which travellers had had with bandits are condemned as fabrications or exaggerations. And this with good reason, for practically everyone who travelled through the mountainous regions of Central and Southern Italy, including those who were heavily guarded and protected against any eventuality, never failed to give to their credulous hearers sensational accounts of the many perils which they had encountered on the way, but which in reality they had never experienced.

"The formidable number and formidable guard of the *procaccio*, had prevented any molestation from *banditti*; but every party of travellers had its tales of wonder, and one carriage vied with another in its budget of assertions and surmises. Fierce, whiskered faces had been seen peering over the rocks; carbines and stilettos gleaming from among the bushes; suspicious-looking fellows, with flapped hats, and scowling eyes, had occasionally reconnoitred a straggling carriage, but had disappeared on seeing the guard."⁵

Italian *banditti*, in Irving's eyes, are no longer criminals pursued by justice and ever ready to engage in acts of violence, but, like the Chieftain, they are liberty loving creatures who in their efforts to rid their country of tyrants and despots have been forced to flee to the mountains and form a combination whereby

⁵ *The Inn at Terracina*, p. 209.

they may "revenge themselves for the wrongs and injuries which most of them have suffered." ⁶ Or perhaps, like the young robber, they are the authors of some crime committed through a fit of jealousy, or during a sudden outburst of passion to which their fiery temperament is rather prone. None of these outlaws has lost any of the human instincts or human sympathies proper to good and upright men; all of them have preserved intact certain inherent qualities which one can not fail to admire: a deep love of nature and art; a strict adherence to obedience, even if it be only in reference to their chief; a high respect for their church, and a sincere devotion to their religion.

But we should also remember here that young Irving, possessing as he did a deeply romantic temperament and finding that the life of these beings and the singular country they infested were full of romance, proceeded to impart to the setting and to the characters of his stories a strong element of romanticism. His *banditti* are strong, muscular men, picturesquely attired, adventurous, brave, and, in spite of their profession, quite pleasing and attractive. Indeed, what persons could there be more charming and amiable than the jovial young bandits who entertained the little antiquary at the inn, paid for his drinks, sang, laughed, and joked with him and finally took leave of him "as friends and comrades" without relieving him of his watch, nor of his money, nor of his treatise on his discoveries in the ancient cities of the Pelasgi which he valued above all else? And where could one find a more courteous and a more obliging gentleman than the chieftain who amuses the painter with the story of his own life, treats him to a repast which "never appeared to him more excellent or picturesque," poses for him as "the most docile of subjects" while he sketches his likeness on a sheet of paper, "orders his companions to collect some dry moss, arranges with his own hands a kind of mattress and pillow of it, and gives him his ample mantle as a covering," so that he may sleep more comfortably, and finally on parting takes him by the hand and requests permission to write to him.

In view of all this is it any wonder that, in spite of the fact that the gentlemen (in their party) were eased of their purses and

⁶ *Tales of a Traveller*, p. 174.

their watches and the ladies of their jewels, the Misses Hopkins should be "quite delighted with their adventure" with the brigands? In truth, "they declared the captain of the band to be a most romantic-looking man—they dared to say some unfortunate lover, or exiled nobleman: and several of the band to be very handsome young men—'quite picturesque!'"⁷

Irving's portrayal of the Italian *banditti*, therefore, is in truth a most sympathetic one, and was evidently intended in part at least to rectify, if not to dispel once for all, the fanciful and exaggerated notions which most people had been led to entertain concerning them.

Irving's journey to Naples was made in a fruit-boat. As he entered the beautiful Bay of Naples, and gazed upon that lovely coast studded with shining towns and sumptuous villas, he was enchanted, and when he made his way through the city he was greatly impressed by the many and varied manifestations of Neapolitan life with which he came into contact. "My heart," he wrote, "expanded into a riot of vague but delicious emotion. The beauty of nature intoxicated, bewildered me. The song of the peasants; their cheerful looks; their happy avocations; the picturesque gaiety of their dresses; their rustic music; their dances; all broke upon me like witchcraft. My soul responded to the music, my heart danced in my bosom. All the men appeared amiable, all the women lovely."

If we now turn to Irving's *Tales of a Traveller*, we shall find in them familiar scenes which are characteristic of Italy in general and of Southern Italy in particular: people in towns and villages enjoying themselves in the open air, playing, singing, or chatting in groups in the public squares; lovers standing beneath their sweethearts' windows and serenading them with their guitars; *improvvisatori* delivering with enthusiasm their impromptus after securing the bystanders' attention and after awakening their curiosity; shepherds in their picturesque dress tending their flocks and followed by their ever-constant companion, the dog; devout men and women prostrate before some votive candles which were burning before the image of a saint in a side-chapel of some church.

⁷ *The Adventure of the Hopkins Family*, p. 198.

In Rome, which was the next place he visited after Naples, Irving had the good fortune to meet Washington Allston, the well-known American painter, who accompanied him on his peregrinations through the eternal city. Under his excellent guidance, he was able to acquire and develop a real appreciation of the numerous works of art which he saw there. His mind, which was fully open to new impressions, was readily susceptible to the peculiar influence which Rome invariably exerts upon her visitors; and he felt very much inclined to settle there permanently with a view to devoting the rest of his life to painting.

"Mr. Allston and I," he says in his Diary, "had been visiting a stately villa, with its gallery of paintings, its marble halls, its terraced gardens set out with statues and fountains, and were returning to Rome about sunset. The blandness of the air, the serenity of the sky, the transparent purity of the atmosphere, and that nameless charm which hangs about an Italian landscape, had derived additional effect from being enjoyed in company with Allston, and pointed out by him with the enthusiasm of an artist. As I listened to him, and gazed upon the landscape, I drew in my mind a contrast between our different pursuits and prospects. He was to reside among these delightful scenes, surrounded by masterpieces of art, by classic and historic monuments, by men of congenial minds and tastes, engaged like him in the constant study of the sublime and beautiful. I was to return home to the dry study of the law, for which I had no relish, and, as I feared, little talent.

"Suddenly the thought presented itself, 'Why might I not remain here, and turn painter.' I had taken lessons in drawing before leaving America, and had been thought to have some aptness, as I certainly had a strong inclination for it. I mentioned the idea to Allston, and he caught at it with eagerness. Nothing could be more feasible. We would take an apartment together. He would give me all the instruction and assistance in his power, and was sure I would succeed.

"For two or three days the idea took full possession of my mind, but I believe it owed its main force to the lovely evening ramble in which I first conceived it, and to the romantic friendship I had formed with Allston. Whenever it recurred to mind, it was always connected with beautiful Italian scenery, palaces, and statues, and fountains, and terraced gardens, and Allston as the companion of my studio. I promised myself a world of enjoyment in his society, and in the society of several artists

with whom he had made me acquainted, and pictured forth a scheme of life all tinted with the rainbow hues of youthful promise.

"My lot in life, however, was differently cast. Doubts and fears gradually clouded over my prospect; the rainbow tints faded away: I began to apprehend a sterile reality, so I gave up the transient but delightful prospect of remaining in Rome with Allston, and turning painter."⁸

The last part of Irving's Italian journey was covered in considerable haste. He galloped through Northern Italy, and failed to visit even such celebrated cities as Florence and Venice. This was partly due to the fact that he was very anxious to get back to Paris in order to attend a course of lectures which was just about to begin. His main reason, however, was that his mind had been so fatigued by the constant succession of artistic marvels which he saw in Rome that, as he himself confessed, he hardly had room in his head for another city. Thus, our romantic youth, who was so easily impressed and so easily disillusioned, hurried through Bologna and Milan and returned to France on May 2, 1805.

But in spite of this abrupt end, Irving's journey through Italy was a very enjoyable and a most profitable one. It brought him into close touch with Italian culture and with Italian civilization; it stimulated his interest in Italian art and made him such an enthusiast for Italian music that he would attend Italian opera regularly in whatever country he happened to be "with the eagerness of an Italian"; it encouraged him likewise in his study of the Italian language and literature as shown by his references to Lorenzo de' Medici in *Salmagundi*, to Dante and Metastasio in his *Tales of a Traveller*, to Petrarch, Boccaccio, Macchiavelli, Sannazzaro and Alfieri in his *Journals*; and, last but not least, it furnished him with the inspiration for some of his most delightful stories in the *Tales of a Traveller*.

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⁸ *Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, I, 73.

MISCELLANEOUS

DANTE'S COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SEVEN PLANETS AND THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS

IN the fourteenth chapter of the second treatise of the *Convivio* Dante draws a comparison between the seven planets and seven sciences of the Trivium and Quadrivium. According to his view, the Moon corresponds to Grammar, Mercury to Dialectic, Venus to Rhetoric, the Sun to Arithmetic, Mars to Music, Jupiter to Geometry, and Saturn to Astrology. The purpose of the present note is to call attention to the fact that the idea of comparing the seven sciences of the Scholastics with the seven planets was not original with Dante as Zingarelli¹ has supposed:

"E alla sua diffusa esposizione qui fa riscontro, nella interpretazione dell'allegoria (14 e 15), la singolare dottrina della somiglianza tra i cieli e le varie scienze, dalla quale l'autore si riprometteva un grandissimo successo come di cosa tutta sua. Quando egli sostiene che i cieli sono dieci, compreso l'Empireo, e che infinito è il numero delle Intelligenze celesti, o angeli, non fa se non accogliere e accordare Aristotele, Tolomeo, i Padri e la Scrittura, seguendo in ciò principalmente l'Anquinata che quella fusione aveva mirabilmente operata; ma la scoperta della relazione tra cieli e scienze è frutto del suo pensiero, e meglio ci rivela la qualità propria del suo ingegno filosofico. In verità codesta escogitazione appartiene anch'essa ad un metodo medioevale di ricerca, quello della *moralisatio*, per la quale si scoprivano, nei regni della natura, nelle pietre, nelle piante e negli animali concetti e ammaestramenti sacri e morali: il merito di Dante consisteva nell'averlo applicato ai cieli e nella sottilissima analisi della natura loro in relazione con le proprietà delle varie scienze. Posto che negli uni e nelle altre vi sieno tre principali similitudini, ossia il rivolgersi intorno ad un punto fisso, l'illuminare e l'indurre perfezione, egli viene a dimostrare che alla Luna, a Mercurio, a Venere, al Sole, a Marte, a Giove, a Saturno, alle Stelle fisse, al Primo Mobile, all'Empireo rispondano successivamente la Grammatica, la Dialettica, la Rettorica, l'Aritmetica, la Musica, la Geometria, l'Astrologia, la Scienza Naturale, che comprende Fisica e Metafisica, la Scienza Morale o Etica, e la Scienza Divina o Teologia."

In discussing the seven liberal arts, Alexander Neckam (1157-1217) says:²

"Sicut igitur mundum illuminant septem planetae, sic omnem scientiam ornant et muniunt artes ingenuae. Luna terris est citima, cui comparatur grammatica, primos vendicans limites. Sol, secundum quorundam assignationem, secundum locum tenet, cui consimilem in multis studiosus lector reperiet dialecticam. Mercurio

¹ "Dante" in *Storia Letteraria d'Italia*, p. 397. Compare Florence Trail's statement in her *History of Italian Literature*, New York, 1903, vol. 1, pp. 69-70: "In accordance with the cosmic system of the Scholastics Dante in his idea of Heaven embraces ten spheres, or the heavens of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the Fixed Stars, the Primum Mobile and Empyrean. And with the subtlety of which he alone is master he makes the sciences of the Scholastics correspond with these spheres; the Trivium embracing Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric and the Quadrivium of Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy correspond to the seven wandering stars; and Physics and Metaphysics, Ethics, and Theology to the three circles of the highest heavens."

² *De Naturis Rerum*, Ed. by Thomas Wright, London, 1863, pp. 283-4.

tertiun locum tenenti confertur rhetorica. Venus gratiosa est aspectu, cui arismetica, ob multam hujus disciplinae venustatem, comparatur. Hujus utilitatem novit theologia, mysterium numerorum diligenter investigans. Martem respicit musica, non humana, non mundana, sed instrumentalis. Lituorum namque et tubarum clangentium concentus varius invitat armatos ad conflictum. Jovi se obnoxiam esse fatetur geometria, quae circa immobilem magnitudinem versatur. Saturno, astris vicinior planetis caeteris, militat astronomia, quae circa mobilem magnitudinem versatur.¹

Zingarelli is wrong, therefore, in attributing to Dante the discovery of the relation between the planets and the seven sciences (*la scoperta della relazione tra cieli e scienze è frutto del suo pensiero*). The passage just quoted from Alexander Neckam shows that the idea of such comparisons was known long before Dante wrote the *Convivio*. In both cases one of the planets is compared to one of the sciences and the reason for the correspondence is indicated. In both cases the Moon is compared to Grammar, Jupiter to Geometry, and Saturn to Astronomy. It is interesting to note also that one of the reasons given to show the relation between the planets and the liberal arts is similar in both cases: "Sicut igitur mundum illuminant septem planetae, sic omnem scientiam ornant et muniunt artes ingenuae."² "La seconda similitudine si è lo illuminare dell'uno e dell'altro. Chè ciascuno cielo illumina le cose visibili; e così ciascuna scienza illumina le intelligibili."³

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A GLOSS OF A BALLAD BY GÓNGORA

THERE has been preserved in the National Library of Spain, a manuscript *comedia* entitled *El jardín de Falerina*,¹ by Rojas Zorrilla, Antonio Coello, and Calderón de la Barca.² It was apparently confused with the *zarzuela* of the same name, which Calderón wrote alone,³ until Cotarelo pointed out the individuality of the two dramatic works.⁴ The plot, be it said in passing, represents a free treatment of episodes

¹ See Alexander Neckam, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

² See *Convivio*, II, 14.

³ It will be recalled that three other dramatic productions of the Golden Age bore this title: 1) a lost play by Lope de Vega (Rennert, *Bibliography of the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega Carpio*, *Revue hispanique*, XXXII, 1915, p. 192; Rennert-Castro, *Vida*, Madrid, 1919, p. 489); 2) a *zarzuela* by Calderón, staged in 1648 and first published in the two unauthorized editions of the *quinta parte* of his *comedias*, Madrid and Barcelona, 1677; reprinted in the *Bib. de aut. esp.*, t. IX; 3) an *auto sacramental* by the same playwright (part V of his *Autos sacramentales, alegóricos y historiales*, Madrid, 1717; also preserved in two Madrid MSS. of the eighteenth century [Paz y Mélia, *Catálogo*, Madrid, 1899, no. 1651], and in another MS. belonging to the British Museum [Stiefel, in *Zeit. für rom. Phil.*, XXX, 1906, p. 239]).

⁴ MS. 17320, which Paz y Mélia (no. 1652) assigns to the seventeenth century. I hope to publish the MS. at some future date.

⁵ Cf. Paz y Mélia, no. 1652. The MS. would seem to be listed by Breymann (*Calderon-Studien: die Calderon-Literatur*, Munich and Berlin, 1905, I, p. 6), but he says nothing of the tripartite authorship.

⁶ *Don Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, Noticias biográficas y bibliográficas*, Madrid, 1911, pp. 171-74, where a summary of the plot is also given. Cf., in addition, his *Dramáticos del siglo XVII: Don Antonio de Coello y Ochoa*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 37-38;

drawn from both the *Orlando furioso* and the *Orlando innamorato*, and offers little interest for present purposes.

In the second *jornada* (written by Coello), Orlando rushes upon the stage in a burst of fury. He has been pursuing Angélica ever since she fled with Medoro, and pours out his jealous rage in a long tirade which is but a gloss of a well-known ballad by Góngora, *A Angélica y Medoro*.⁶ In order to indicate graphically the borrowings from the *romance*, we are printing Orlando's utterance in the first column, and the lines from the ballad (ed. Cossío) in the second one. Verses from the play that offer a literal, or virtually literal, correspondence with lines from the *romance*, are printed in italics:

Buscando aquella cruel (f. 19)
Que el Catay lleua por norte,
Huyendo de mis suspiros,
El mar bajando, y el orbe:
Después de medir montañas,
Después de inquerir regiones,
Después de allar⁶ varios climas:
Penetrando aquese monte,
Desenmarañando ramas,
Troncos cortando disformes,
Sendas inciertas pisando:—
Vine a meterme sin orden
En vn pastoral aluergue,
Que la guerra entre vnos robles
(O ciega de sus malezas
Ignorando los rincones,
O altiua regateando
En vn rendido los golpes)
Le dexó por escondido,
O le perdonó por pobre.
Llego a que de vnos villanos
La rusticidad me informe;
Con cautela de mi dueño,
Y sin dezirle su nombre,
Pregunto, escudriño, y ruego:
Vna muger me responde
(Que siempre son las primeras
Que diuulgan lo que oyen):
—¿Veis este rústico lecho,
Que en vez de tyrias labores (f. 19a)
Manchadas pieles le abrigan,
Y estriua en mullidas flores?—
Pues en él aquestos días

En un pastoral albergue,
Que la guerra entre unos robres

Le dejó por escondido
O le perdonó por pobre.⁷

Do la paz viste pellico
Y conduce entre pastores
Ovejas del monte al llano

and the *Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, parte primera*, Madrid, 1924, p. 169: in this passage Cotarelo tells us that the *comedia* "ya en 17 de enero (de 1636) se estrenó en Palacio, por la compañía de Juan Martínez de los Ríos" (cf. also p. 281, n. 2).

⁶ *Romances de Góngora editados por José María de Cossío*, Madrid, 1927, no. 49, and Foulché-Delbosc, *Obras poéticas de D. Luis de Góngora*, New York, 1921, I, no. 131. Any important variants found in Durán's version (*Romancero*, no. 411) will be indicated in the notes.

⁷ Should probably be *ollar*; the *o* and *a* are at times written practically alike.

⁸ These two lines have been intercalated, with slight alterations, in the *Loa con que empezó Tomás Fernández en la Corte*, by Quiñones de Benavente (Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses* . . . , Madrid, 1911, II, p. 560).

Mejor que en brocados nobles,
Mal herido y bien curado,
Se aluergó en dichoso joven,
 Tan hijo de su fortuna,
 Amante tan sin temores,
 Regalado tan sin sustos,
 Dichoso tan sin pensiones,
Que sin tirarle Amor flechas
Le coronó de favores.
 Pregúntole ya con susto,
 Profeta de mis temores,
 Cómo vino a su cabaña
 Este amante, y respondiome
 Que entre los sustos de Marte,
 De la guerra en los horrores,
Le halló en el campo aquella
Vida y muerte de los hombres;
 Y yo al dolor excessiuo
 De tal nueua frío y torpe,
 Como adiuinando el mal
 Que aun no era cierto asta entonces,
 Desquaternado el aliento,
 Eleuadas las acciones,
 Palpitante el corazón,
 Me élé, quedando a sus voces
Las venas con poca sangre,
Los ojos con mucha noche:
 ¡O Amor, cómo eres injusto!
 Pues la que fué de los hombres
 Estrago, dura a los ruegos,
 Sin lástima a los dolores,
 Sin compasión a las penas,
 Ya llena de compasiones
Del palafrén se derriba, (f. 20)
No porque al Moro conoce,
 No porque querellas suyas
 Aquella piedad negocien,
 No porque el mozo aya sido
 Idólatra de sus soles,
 No porque aya grangeado
 Su amor con obligaciones,
 No porque aya cexado el viento, (*sic*)
 No porque aya errado el orbe,
Sino por ver que la yerua
Tanta sangre paga en flores.
Límpiale el rostro y la mano
 (Estraña a tales dolores)
 Con nouedad en el tacto,
 Que en veneno al alma corre
 Trepando veloz las venas
 Hasta el corazón de bronce:
 Siente el mal y no le alla,
 Alla el mal sin saber dónde,
 Y andando a buscar en sí
 El áspid que la inficione,
 Mirándolo más atento
Siente el áspid que se esconde
Tras las rosas, que la muerte

Y cabras del llano al monte,
 Mal herido y bien curado,
 Se alberga un dichoso joven,

Que sin clavarle Amor flecha,^a
 Le coronó de favores.
 Las venas con poca sangre,
 Los ojos con mucha noche,^b

Le halló en el campo aquella
 Vida y muerte de los hombres.

Del palafrén se derriba,
 No porque al Moro conoce,

Sino por ver que la hierba
 Tanta sangre paga en flores.
 Límpiale el rostro, y la mano

Siente al Amor que se esconde
 Tras las rosas, que la muerte

^a The plural *flechas* occurs *apud* Durán.

^b These two verses have been transposed in the play and are to be found fourteen lines below.

Va violando sus colores.
Erido aquel pedernal
 Que no dió fuego asta entonces,
Centellas de agua despide,
 Solicitados los golpes
 Del Amor que por rendirla
 Engendró vn monstruo disforme,
Vna piedad mal nacida
 Que su pecho no conoce
 Dissimulada, ¡o quimera
 Del más traidor de los dioses! (f. 20a)
 ¡O compasión mal fundada!
 ¡O traición mudado¹⁰ el nombre!
 ¡O infamia buelta en nobleza!
 ¡O veneno oculto en flores!
 ¡O Amor bastardo! ¡O piedad,
Hija de padres traidores!
 Pues viendo que aquel diamante
 Burló rebelde los golpes
 Del buril de los suspiros,
 Y el cincel de los dolores,
 Y sabiendo que con sangre
 Se dexa labrar, valióse
 De vn hombre no más que herido,
Porque labren sus arpones
Al diamante del Catay
Con aquella sangre noble.
Yervas aplica a sus llagas,
 Y el accidente, aunque torpe,
 A aquel contacto diuino
 Embelesado quedóse,
 Y de vna parte empeñado
 En quitar la vida al joven,
 Y por otra conociendo
 Al milagro obligaciones,
 De aquella deydad queriendo
 Cumplir de vna vez, conforme
 Con la muerte y con la vida,
 Suspendió perplexo el orden,
 Dando calma a las eridas,
Que si no sanan entonces,
En virtud de tales manos
Lisonjean los dolores;
 Y, en fin, fauorable siempre
 A tan viles compasiones,
 Aquí más ciego que nunca,
 Porque el joun se enamore,
 Por tener parte en la cura, (f. 21)
 Muy seruicial en traiciones,
Amor la ofrece su venda;

Va violando sus colores.
 Escondióse tras las rosas
 Porque labren sus arpones
 El diamante del Catay
 Con aquella sangre noble.¹⁰
 Ya le regala los ojos,
 Ya le entra, sin ver por dónde,
 Una piedad mal nacida
 Entre dulces escorpiones.
 Ya es herido el pedernal,
 Ya despide el primer golpe
 Centellas de agua. ¡O piedad,¹¹

Hija de padres traidores!

Hierbas aplica a sus llagas,¹²

Que si no sanan entonces,
 En virtud de tales manos
 Lisonjean los dolores.

Amor le ofrece su venda,

¹⁰ This verse, and the two preceding ones as well, are repeated by Orlando nineteen lines below.

¹¹ Cf. the reading in Durán's version:

Ya despide al primer golpe
 Centellas de una piedad . . .

¹² The MS. has *mudada*.

¹³ Variant *apud* Durán:

Yerba le aplica a las llagas . . .

*Mas ella sus velos rompe
Para ligar las eridas,
Mostrando el prodigio noble
De par en par descubierto,
Y como dexó sus soles
Sin nube que los encubra,
Sin velo que los estorue,
A luzes más eficaces
Mejóro su tez la noche
Y enmendó su luz el día,
El viento lo dize a voces,
¡Tenga paciencia la luna!,
¡Los rayos del Sol perdonen!
Yo furioso, no sufriendo
Saber más, postrado el bronce
Del sufrimiento, mis zelos
En villanos, en pastores,
En la cabaña, en el lecho,
En los troncos, en los montes,
Vengando zeloso y loco,
¡Qué de rayos bibré en voces!
¡Qué de muertes di a los brutos!
¡Qué de heridas di a los ombres!
¡Qué de golpes a las peñas!,
Oyendo mi agrauio entonces,
Y aun aora de pensarlo,
Renouándose los golpes
De la memoria verdugo
Que el pecho ayrado me rompe.
¡Qué de nudos le está dando
A un áspid la embidia torpe,
Contando de las palomas
Los arrullos gemidores!,
Pues para lo que¹⁷ refiero,
Mejor es que sus traiciones (f. 21a)
En venganças se desaten.
Viles tórtolas¹⁸ conformes,
Cazador soy ofendido:
Yo os buscaré, y si veloces
Húis el nido siquiera,
Mancharé de sangre montes . . .
¡Deteneldos, estorualdos!
¡Aguárdame, ingrata! ¡Oye,
Fiera Angélica . . . ! ¡Qué digo?:
¡Pierda mi memoria noble
Tu nombre! ¡Monstruo te llamo,
Prodigio, ingrata, mar, bronce . . . !
¡No, Angélica . . . !, mas, ¡ay cielos . . . !,
Vanas son mis preuenciones:*

Mas ella sus velos rompe
Para ligar sus heridas;

Los rayos del Sol perdonen.¹⁴

¡Qué de nudos le está dando
A un áspid la invidia torpe,¹⁵
Contando de las palomas
Los arrullos gemidores!¹⁶

¹⁴ Since the next forty lines of the ballad have not been taken over by the playwright they have been omitted.

¹⁵ Variant *apud* Durán:

A un áspid la vida torpe . . .

¹⁶ The next thirty-two lines of the ballad have been omitted.

¹⁷ The MS. reads *que lo*.

¹⁸ Cf. the *romance*:

Tórtolas enamoradas
Son sus roncós atambores . . .

El eco me haze acordar,
 Pues por dezirme su nombre
Si en valle "Angélica" suena,
Otro "Angélica" responde.
 Pues, ¡no ha de ser . . . ! ¡Sólo viuan
 Sus memorias porque logre
 Venganças . . . ! ¡Espera, ingrata . . . !
 ¡Afuera, infames blasones!
 ¡Qué me seruí si la pierdo?
 Y contra viles traidores
 No quiero ventajas: bastan
 Para abrasar mis ardores
 Los verdes fresnos del valle,
 Los blancos chopos del monte,—
 Pues en el monte y el valle,
 Por testigos, por padrones,
 De su amor y de mis zelos,
 De mi ofensa y sus fauores,
No ay verde fresno sin letra,
Ni blanco chopo sin mote:
 Todo me muestra ofendido,
 Todos publican a voces
 Mi infamia: todos lo dizen: (f. 22)
 Los villanos son pregones,
 La cabaña fué testigo,
 El lecho abrigó traiciones,
 Las flores guardan sus huellas,
 El eco dize sus nombres,
 Los troncos su historia escriuen,
 Los montes me los esconden,—
 Pues si todos igualmente
 Fueron terceros conformes,
 Fueron alcahuetes²⁰ viles
 De mi agrauio, y sus fauores
 Todos me paguen mis zelos,
 Y assí, ¡fieras, lecho, flores,
 Eco, villanos, cabaña,
 Troncos, árboles, pastores,
 Cómplices deste delito,
Contestes destos amores,
El cielo os guarde, si puede,
De las locuras del Conde!

No hay verde fresno sin letra,
 Ni blanco chopo sin mote;¹⁹
 Si un valle "Angélica" suena,
 Otro "Angélica" responde.

*Quítase las armas
 y valas arrojando*

Cuevas do el silencio apenas
 Deja que sombras las moren
 Profanan con sus abrazos
 A pesar de sus horrores.
 Choza, pues, tálamo y lecho,
 Cortesanos labradores,
 Aires, campos, fuentes, vegas,
 Cuevas, troncos, aves, flores,
 Fresnos, chopos, montes, valles,
 Contestes de estos amores,
 El cielo os guarde, si puede,
 De las locuras del Conde.²¹

A *comedia* entitled *Un pastoral albergue*, which derives its name and principal motif from the ballad, has been included in Lope's *Obras* (Acad. ed., t. XIII), but Menéndez y Pelayo has excellent reasons for doubting the ascription to him (*ibid.*, pp. cxii ff). Whoever the author, or authors, of the play may have been, in the second *jornada* they have inserted the opening lines of the *romance* with "algunas

¹⁹ These two verses have been inserted in Orlando's tirade, sixteen lines below.

²⁰ A line has been drawn through this word, and *medianeros* inserted just above it.

²¹ In Durán's version the ballad ends as follows:

Cuevas do el silencio apenas
 Deja que las sombras moren,
 Profanan con sus abrazos
 A pesar de sus horrores.
 ¡Choza, pues, tálamo y lecho,
 Contestes d'estos amores,
 El cielo os guarde, si puede,
 De las locuras del Conde!

variantes curiosas respecto del texto conocido" (cf. *ibid.*, p. cxiii). However, the only variant of importance that is common to both the drama published by Menéndez y Pelayo and *El jardín de Falerina* is *tirarle* for *echarle* in the line:

Que sin tirarle Amor flechas . . .

The initial verse of the ballad occurs in four additional places (pp. 352, 362, 363, 364), and three other lines have been intercalated in the dialogue:

Los ojos con mucha noche . . . (p. 352)

Vida y muerte de los hombres . . . (p. 353)

Do la paz viste el pellico . . . (p. 362)

The following passage has points of contact with the last part of Orlando's apostrophic outburst (in *El jardín de Falerina*):

¡Oh cabaña vil, oh bosque,
De mis agravios testigos!
¡Oh viles encubridores
De mis celos, oh villanos! (p. 358)

The *romance* has, moreover, furnished the first twenty lines of the *Baile del pastoral*,²² which contains variants no less curious than those mentioned by Menéndez y Pelayo. Some of these variants are obviously inserted for comic effect, while others would seem to indicate either various *lapsus memoriae* on the part of the unknown author or the existence of a version of the ballad differing from the ones published by Durán and Cossío. In reprinting the lines from Cotarelo all discrepancies with Cossío's text are italicized, and special attention is called to the substitution of *tirarle* for *clavarle*:

- Muj. 1.ª En un pastoral albergue,
Que la guerra entre unos robles
Le dejó por escondido
O le perdonó por pobre.
- Muj. 2.ª Do la paz viste pellico
Que conduce entre pastores
Ovejas del monte al llano
O cabras del llano al monte.
- Muj. 3.ª *Bien* herido y *mal* curado
Se alberga un dichoso joven,
Que sin *tirarle* Amor flechas
Le coronó de favores.
- Gregor. Las venas con *mucho vino*,
Los ojos con *mucho arrope*,
Le halló en el campo aquella
Vida y muerte de *jamones*.
- Muj. 4.ª Amor le ofrece *la* venda,
Mas ella *su* *velo* rompe
Para *curar* las heridas,
Los rayos del sol perdonen.

In Guillén de Castro's *Pagar en propia moneda*,²³ Ludovico (a *salteador*!) sings the first twelve lines of the ballad in order to assuage the melancholy of Elena.²⁴

²² Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, II, no. 187.

²³ *Obras*, ed. Juliá, Madrid, 1925, I, p. 112.

²⁴ He sings the ballad without the accompaniment of a musical instrument:

Elena. No cantes más, que me matas.
Ludov. Pues aguardo el instrumento.

The variants (again with Cossio's text) are:

De²⁶ la paz viste pellico . . . ,
and
Que, sin *tírarle* Amor flechas,
Le corona de favores.

Nor is the narrative of the *romance* forgotten in the ensuing scenes of the play, in which the wounds of Prince Pedro of Aragón are cured by Elena and the three *salteadores*.

Finally, among the passages in which another dramatist of the epoch, Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón, reveals his familiarity with Góngora's ballads, may be quoted:

En un abreviado albergue
Que la guerra fea y torpe
Le ignoró por soberano
O le perdonó por noble.²⁶
.....
Mucho cielo en poca frente,
Mucha luz en dos carbuncos,
Mucha deshojada rosa
Entre lirios y ligustros.²⁷

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THE MEMORY ELEMENT IN MESONERO'S *MEMORIAS*

THE repeated insistence with which Mesonero refers in his *Memorias*¹ to his remarkable memory inevitably creates the impression that his detailed picture of life in Madrid between 1808 and 1850 is based exclusively on faithful personal recollections. Stressing the memory source from a slightly different angle, he similarly emphasizes the fact that, rather than write a conventional history of the period, he limited himself to a record of events observed by a curious and intelligent onlooker, and treated in the intimate manner of an eyewitness. Finally, because of the relatively small amount of autobiographical material in the *Memorias*, the assumption is likely to be made that the author's modesty must have prompted him not to cast his own shadow on the picture of the period recorded. Whether the impressions

²⁶ A misprint perhaps, although *de* is perfectly intelligible.

²⁶ From a *Romance en trova* included in *El enano de las Musas* (*Los clásicos olvidados*, Madrid, 1928, III, p. xxxii). The editor, Valbuena Prat, comments thus: "Es una adaptación 'a lo divino' (en 36 versos) del 'En un pastoral albergue' gongorino" (*ibid.*, n. 2):

²⁷ From the first part of *El rayo de Andalucía* (likewise quoted by Valbuena Prat, p. xxxii). Cf., for an example from Tirso de Molina, R. Menéndez Pidal, *L'épopée castillane* . . . , Paris, 1910, p. 239, and for one from Belmonte Bermúdez, *El diablo predicador*, in the *Bib. de aut. esp.*, XLV, p. 332; further data for the play printed in vol. XIII of Lope's comedias will be found in *Notes on the Bibliography of Lope de Vega's "Comedias,"* by S. Griswold Morley (*Mod. Phil.*, XX, 1922, p. 209).

An interesting study could be made of the imitations or reminiscences of *En un pastoral albergue* in later lyric poetry (cf. Gerardo Diego, *Antología poética en honor de Góngora*, Madrid, 1927, pp. 32 and 43).

¹ Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, *Memorias de un setentón*, Madrid, 1880.

conveyed by this method have a basis in fact or are a phenomenon akin to mirage, only a close scrutiny of the *Memorias* can decide.

Frequent references to his retentive power, reenforced by copious quotations, are among Mesonero's means of calling attention to his memory.² Already in the opening paragraph of the work he modestly confesses that "una felicísima memoria" is his only unimpaired faculty in old age.³ He had his first serious test as a boy of fifteen, when his "asombrosa memoria" enabled him once to recite a varied and extensive repertoire of classical poetry.⁴ His friends generously admired his retentive power,⁵ and partly because of his "prodigiosa memoria" he was admitted into the literary and cultural clubs of Madrid.⁶ In support of these unmistakable claims Mesonero quotes a surprisingly large number of selections from a variety of verse compositions, in many instances committed to memory at the age of not quite five,⁷ as well as bits of conversations and anecdotes of similarly remote date.⁸ The snatches of conversation, presumably because they are reproduced faithfully, generally appear in quotes,⁹ although an occasional remark like "con estas o semejantes palabras" would indicate that the quotes were used as in fiction dialogue.¹⁰ Often Mesonero seemingly raises his memory to the importance of an historical document: thus when he quotes fifty-six lines of a hymn which was sung on May 2, 1814, and never thereafter, and which he alone remembers in 1880;¹¹ or when he enumerates the names of sixteen titled families whose male members joined the National Militia in 1820;¹² or again when he lists the forty-five members of the Asamblea of 1820.¹³

In addition to the above, Mesonero's memory apparently retained faithfully abstractions and visual experiences. He remembers the opinion which he held at the age of five concerning the relations between Fernando VII and General Murat, an opinion which, in view of his tender age, he naturally did not formulate independently, but overheard at the gatherings of friends in his father's home.¹⁴ During the same period he shared with mature persons the feeling of patriotic exuberance over the victory of "El Dos de Mayo."

"... Ante tal espectáculo," he explains his precocious appreciation of the event, "no había ni edades ni condiciones; todos éramos hombres, todos crecimos al sublime

² References to his memory are found as follows: pp. 5, 30, 33, 41, 48, 54, 67, 95, 102-3, 114, 120, 122-3, 127-9, 132-3, 137-8, 151, 154, 158, 167, 172, 196, 199, 200, 215, 217, 224, 227, 252, 255, 267, 275, 286, 295, 299, 323-4, 327, 342, 350, 351, 381-2, 403-4, 406, 447, 451, 455-6. Quotations, presumably from memory, appear thus: pp. 15, 21-2, 23, 34-5, 54-7, 95, 108, 109, 118, 122, 127-8, 138-40, 143, 146-7, 168, 172-4, 190-1, 196-7, 200, 215, 223, 235, 252, 265, 276, 286-8, 297-9, 307, 322, 324, 337, 341-2, 385, 455-7. These lists are not strictly exhaustive.

³ *Memorias*, p. 5.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 120.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 224.

⁶ *Id.*, p. 327.

⁷ *Id.*, pp. 21, 34-5.

⁸ *Id.*, pp. 14-5.

⁹ *Id.*, pp. 90, 108, 211, 285, *et al.*

¹⁰ *Id.*, p. 267.

¹¹ *Id.*, pp. 138-40.

¹² *Id.*, p. 217.

¹³ *Id.*, p. 227.

¹⁴ *Id.*, p. 32.

fuego del patriotismo, y sin gran dificultad hallo clara y distintamente estampada en mi imaginación el cuadro sublime que en aquellos momentos se desplegaba a mi vista."¹⁵

After an interval of sixty-six years he recalls how at the age of eleven he sensed the difference in popular sentiment toward the return of Fernando VII in 1814 and in 1808.¹⁶ In spite of the passage of time he remembers the gay activities in the Salón del Prado in 1812, which he presumably attended as a boy of nine, and the solemn procession to the cemetery on May 2, 1814, to exhume the bodies of the national heroes.¹⁷ He is particularly gratified to have retained a vividly detailed picture of Martínez de la Rosa on the same occasion.¹⁸

The reproduction of *Mis ratos perdidos* is perhaps the most impressive feat of Mesonero's memory. We are told that upon discovering the loss of the manuscript of the twelve sketches, he confined himself to his room where in the course of one night he reproduced them "fielmente."¹⁹ Foulché-Delbosc, who has reprinted the sketches, characterizes Mesonero's accomplishment as a physical impossibility.²⁰ This is not the only instance where the evidence is clearly against Mesonero's claims. Scattered in the *Memorias* there are so many examples of lapses of memory, inconsistencies, and contradictions, that the temptation is indeed great to question the true strength of the author's faculty.

Recounting an anecdote about Napoleon's visit to the Royal Palace in Madrid, Mesonero cites as his source a book entitled—if he remembers correctly ("si mal no me acuerdo")—*Le Diable Rose*, by a certain Mr. N., *Aide de camp de S.A.R. Monseigneur le Duc d'Angoulême*.²¹ It is strange that he should be uncertain only about the title, when he admits in the same connection that he had used the book in 1830 for the compilation of his *Manual de Madrid*, where he first reproduced the anecdote.²² Why did he not take the trouble to ascertain the exact title? Equally curious is the phrase "a lo que entiendo" with which Mesonero qualifies his extremely laconic comments on the sojourn of the Duke of Wellington in Madrid, for elsewhere he is ever the keenly observing eye-witness.²³ A bit more difficult to explain are the mutually exclusive sources of the carnival anecdote, the first part of which is told as something overheard at a "tertulia," while the climax is related as a personally observed incident.²⁴ A similar self-contradiction is to be noted in Mesonero's description of the opening of the Cortes of March 19, 1814. After giving a detailed account of the ceremony, which he witnessed at the age of eleven, he cannot recall the floor plan of the Teatro de los Caños where the session was held, stating: "y según puedo colegir (pues no llegué a conocer el antiguo teatro)."²⁵ On the same occasion he seems to have forgotten whether the opening address was read or delivered orally. (Mesonero

¹⁵ *Id.*, pp. 52-3.

¹⁶ *Id.*, p. 148.

¹⁷ *Id.*, pp. 134-40.

¹⁸ *Id.*, p. 137.

¹⁹ *Id.*, p. 255.

²⁰ Cf. *Le modèle inavoué du Panorama Matriense*, in *Revue hispanique*, XLVIII (1920), p. 310. The sketches occupy pp. 264-306.

²¹ *Memorias*, p. 67, note.

²² *Loc. cit.*

²³ *Id.*, p. 95.

²⁴ *Id.*, pp. 102-3.

²⁵ *Id.*, pp. 128-9.

could have verified these details by consulting Bartolomé José Gallardo's complete report of the sessions in the *Abeja madrileña*, which he inadvertently betrays as the sole source for the Cortes of 1814,²⁶ and which he probably consulted for his account.) Again, when the bodies of the heroes of "El Dos de Mayo" were exhumed, we are told that only their relatives were allowed near the graves, yet he carried away an unforgettable impression of the mutilated bodies and faces.²⁷ From the account of the return of Fernando VII to Madrid it is clear that Mesonero actually followed the procession through the different sections of the capital, yet he states that he watched the parade from the balcony of his home.²⁸ Wholly inexplicable are the memory lapses when the author quotes from poems which admittedly appeared in the *Diario de la corte*. In one case he quotes the beginning of a poem, but he cannot recall the rest, although he does remember that it was published on the 25th day of the month; in another instance he quotes successfully forty lines, but he cannot reproduce the last few lines.²⁹ Elsewhere he fails to remember the whole of a poem of his own composition.³⁰ It does not seem plausible that Mesonero did not write down his own improvisations, in view of the many manuscripts left by him and subsequently published by his children.³¹

We may now turn to a consideration of the historical quality of the *Memorias* in an effort to throw additional light on the rôle of memory in this work.

Earnestly desirous that the *Memorias* should not be interpreted as ordinary history, Mesonero apologetically announces on the very first page that he is offering a "prosaica y descarnada narración de hechos ciertos y positivos con retratos fotográficos con hombres *de verdad*" (the italics are Mesonero's), que le fué dado observar en su larga vida contemplativa. . . ."³² Subsequently he stresses the method implied in this announcement and even declares that he will not borrow information from books or periodicals in order not to weaken the interest of his story.³³ For the treatment of events between 1808 and 1830 (about three-fourths of the *Memorias*) he has utilized only his memory.³⁴ In dealing with the period when he was a child of barely five he took particular care not to go over the ground adequately covered by historians.³⁵ If he lingers somewhat long on the constitutional period, he does so because he can offer evidence of a "testigo presencial."³⁶ For much the same reason, but in a negative sense, he will not deal with the death of Fernando VII, for it is a sad event

"que no puede ser desenvuelto en estas *Memorias*, porque ni su objeto es esencialmente histórico, ni mi propósito en ellas fué otro que el de narrar los sucesos que *pasaron a mi vista* (the italics are Mesonero's)."³⁷

²⁶ *Id.*, p. 130.

²⁷ *Id.*, p. 133.

²⁸ *Id.*, pp. 146-8.

²⁹ *Id.*, pp. 286-8.

³⁰ *Id.*, p. 299.

³¹ Cf. *Trabajos no coleccionados*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1903 and 1905.

³² *Memorias*, p. 5.

³³ *Id.*, p. 29.

³⁴ *Id.*, p. 451.

³⁵ *Id.*, p. 32.

³⁶ *Id.*, p. 290.

³⁷ *Id.*, p. 394.

Again, he does not intend to treat fully the events between 1833 and 1850, principally because this period is within the memory of his contemporaries.³⁸ Finally, in the paragraph next to the last one of the *Memorias* we are reminded once more that his rôle is that of a "testigo presencial" of a remote and obscure period of the nineteenth century.³⁹

It would be pleasant to agree with Mesonero on the non-historical method of the *Memorias*, had he not himself suggested sources other than his memory.⁴⁰ Thus, in the reconstruction of the picture of "El Dos de Mayo" as seen with the eyes of a child not quite five, he virtually admits that he is doing it in the light of history,⁴¹ and that the aftermath of the event impressed him no more than the average normal child of his age.⁴² Likewise, when viewing retrospectively his discussion of the constitutional period (pp. 220-300), he confesses that he has invaded the domain of history, forgetting that at least twice in the course of this discussion he reminded the reader that he was not writing history.⁴³ Similarly, near the end of the *Memorias* he apologizes for indulging once more in history,⁴⁴ forgetting again his earlier promise not to emulate the historian after 1833.⁴⁵

Mesonero's general excuse for encroaching on history is that he wishes to point out the relationship between the progress of external affairs and the "cuadro íntimo" which is his primary concern.⁴⁶ That it was not necessary to be a "testigo presencial" of an event in order to paint a "cuadro íntimo" of it in Mesonero's conventional and stereotyped manner, may be gathered from a few random snatches of one of his typical "intimate" sketches, in which he describes the Madrid famine of 1811.

"El espectáculo, en verdad, es de aquellos que no se olvidan jamás.—Hombres, mujeres y niños de todas condiciones, abandonando sus miserables viviendas, arrastrándose moribundos a la calle para implorar la caridad pública, para arrebatar siquiera no fuese más que un troncho de verdura, que en época normal se arroja al basurero. . . ." ⁴⁷ "La misma atmósfera, impregnada de gases metélicos, parecía extender un manto fúnebre sobre toda la población, a cuyo recuerdo solo siento helarse mi imaginación y embotarse la pluma en mi mano." ⁴⁸

In other instances, moreover, it is even doubtful whether the "cuadro íntimo" was drawn from memory. The anecdote quoted to illustrate the attitude of the Madrid population toward the French occupation may be read, with slight modifications, in his sketch *La político-manía*, published in 1832.⁴⁹ In the last analysis this anecdote is not original, since it appears in Jouy's sketch *Les nouvelles*,⁵⁰ published in 1814.

³⁸ *Id.*, p. 452. For a possible source of the other reason which Mesonero offers for not treating more fully the earlier years of the century (p. 450), cf. V. J. E. de Jouy, *L'Hermite de la Guiane*, 5th ed., Paris, 1817, vol. 1, p. 296.

³⁹ *Id.*, p. 483.

⁴⁰ Mesonero quotes, with proper acknowledgment of sources, thus: pp. 25-8, 57-60, 66, 73, 94, 153-4, 156-7, 181-2, 202, 208, 262, 425-6, 439, 441, 480, *et al.*

⁴¹ *Id.*, p. 33.

⁴² *Id.*, p. 45.

⁴³ *Id.*, pp. 237, 260.

⁴⁴ *Id.*, p. 458.

⁴⁵ *Id.*, pp. 452-3.

⁴⁶ *Id.*, p. 68.

⁴⁷ *Id.*, p. 84.

⁴⁸ *Id.*, p. 85.

⁴⁹ *Id.*, pp. 71-3; cf. *Panorama matritense*, Madrid, 1925, pp. 215-6.

⁵⁰ Cf. *L'Hermite de la chaussée d'Antin*, 3d ed., Paris, 1814, vol. 5, pp. 156-9.

Contrary to his claim that memory was his sole source,⁸¹ Mesonero unquestionably drew much historical information from books. Godoy's *Memorias* (Madrid, 1836-42), to which he specifically refers,⁸² must have been helpful for the account of the forced departure of the "Príncipe de la Paz." A more informative source, since it covers practically the entire period treated in Mesonero's *Memorias*, was Conde de Toreno's *Historia del levantamiento, guerra y revolución de España* (Paris, 1838), to which he refers at least three times.⁸³ For his interpretation of the personality of Fernando VII Mesonero undoubtedly availed himself of Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva's *Vida política y literaria* (London, 1825).⁸⁴ Occasionally he even paraphrased or transcribed portions of his own earlier works. The description of physical and social Madrid between 1815 and 1816 is presumably done from memory,⁸⁵ yet it reads like a summary of the chapter *Siglo XIX* in *El antiguo Madrid*.⁸⁶ In the same work can be identified⁸⁷ an anecdote transcribed almost verbatim in the *Memorias*.⁸⁸

To supplement the books consulted, Mesonero unquestionably resorted to periodicals and to the archives of Madrid.⁸⁹ Of periodical literature he inadvertently betrays as sources the *Diario de Madrid*,⁹⁰ *La abeja madrileña*,⁹¹ and the *Diario* of the sessions of the Cortes,⁹² owing to the last two his vivid account of the Cortes of 1814 and of the Asamblea of 1820. For an intimate glimpse of the constituents of the Asamblea, Mesonero must have consulted the pamphlet *Condiciones y semblanzas de los Sres. Diputados a Cortes en la legislatura de 1820 y 21*, which he mentions specifically,⁹³ and which he also acknowledges as the inspiration of his own "semblanzas" of his schoolmates—since he knew no other important persons at that age.⁹⁴

Besides the normal historical sources, Mesonero must have resorted to other means of reconstructing the remote past. He solicited much material from friends,⁹⁵ and for his account of the earlier years of the century he gathered information from his parents in later years.⁹⁶ We are told that his mother had saved interesting cartoons of José Bonaparte.⁹⁷ He also acquired the manuscripts of poems recited by

⁸¹ See note 33 above.

⁸² *Memorias*, p. 15.

⁸³ *Id.*, pp. 37, 65, 78. In the second reference Mesonero expresses his surprise not to find one of Napoleon's *Manifiestos a los españoles* in Toreno's work; in the third instance he quotes part of Toreno's description of the good qualities of José Bonaparte.

⁸⁴ *Id.*, p. 181. Mesonero refers to this work as the source of a *Real Orden*, from which he quotes some material.

⁸⁵ *Id.*, p. 158.

⁸⁶ Cf. vol. I (ed. 1925), pp. 116 ff.

⁸⁷ P. 126.

⁸⁸ Pp. 80-1. In *El antiguo Madrid* Toreno is credited with the authorship of the anecdote.

⁸⁹ *Memorias*, pp. 17, 94.

⁹⁰ *Id.*, p. 153.

⁹¹ *Id.*, p. 130.

⁹² *Id.*, p. 228.

⁹³ *Loc. cit.*

⁹⁴ *Id.*, p. 254.

⁹⁵ *Id.*, pp. 96, 119.

⁹⁶ *Id.*, pp. 87, 107.

⁹⁷ *Id.*, p. 60.

his father's *tertulianos*,⁶⁸ and copies of others by persons unknown to him.⁶⁹ Finally, he made intelligent use of paintings⁷⁰ and of lithograph prints of the dress of the period.⁷¹ In short, these and earlier references indicate the variety of sources employed by Mesonero, and thus fairly destroy his assertions that the *Memorias* are exclusively a non-historical work of memory.

As for the little space which Mesonero devotes to autobiographical detail, it need not be imputed to his modesty; it may be explained by the oddly interesting phenomenon that his stream of memory runs turbid in the recital of wholly personal experiences.⁷² Here phrases like "si mal no recuerdo" and "que ahora no recuerdo" are more frequent⁷³ than the positive claims in other parts of the *Memorias*. It is thus fair to conclude that modesty was not his only reason for excluding autobiographical details,⁷⁴ but that for want of written records his memory was not entirely dependable in the case of personal experiences. On the other hand, when recording events within the realm of history, his memory functioned more impressively, especially with the reenforcement of printed and other documents.

In conclusion, the method of the *Memorias* does not impair the intrinsic value of the work as much as it suggests a judgment on the personal and literary qualities of its author. That he should have claimed phenomenal memory power may be due to the fact that he wrote the *Memorias* at the age of seventy-seven. There is possibly more truth than humor in the author's claim that he was "... amenguado . . . en sentidos y potencias."⁷⁵ It is difficult to explain, however, why he should have asserted so emphatically that he was not invading the realm of the historian, since the strictly non-historical content of the *Memorias* is quantitatively insignificant, while everything else is precisely the material of which history is made. As for his literary qualities, the method of the *Memorias* is typical of that employed by Mesonero even in his *costumbrista* sketches: he possessed the peculiar faculty—typically Spanish—of assimilating borrowed material (from Jouy for his *cuadros de costumbres*) and reproducing it in a manner to make the imitation hardly distinguishable from the model. Perhaps Mesonero was not aware of his great assimilatory power. In any event, the fact is clear that Mesonero was rarely independently creative, and in the case of the *Memorias* he was not even independently recreative, for his memory was only one of many means he employed to write an interesting, light, and pleasant history of Spain from 1808 to 1850.

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⁶⁸ *Id.*, p. 22.

⁶⁹ *Id.*, p. 57.

⁷⁰ *Id.*, p. 86.

⁷¹ *Id.*, p. 306.

⁷² *Id.*, pp. 114, 122, 275, 295. In all these instances the author is relating experiences of an extremely personal nature.

⁷³ *Id.*, pp. 323-4, 326, 350-1, 446-7, 455-6. This list is not exhaustive.

⁷⁴ The author's uneventful life may have been another reason. Cf. Emilio Cotarelo y Morí, *Elogio biográfico de don Ramón de Mesonero Romanos*, Madrid, 1925, p. 98.

⁷⁵ *Memorias*, p. 5.

THE PARNASSIANS AT PLAY

THEIR REVIEWS AND THEIR SALONS

THE group which was to be known in the history of French poetry as the Parnassians¹ began to assume definite shape about the year 1860, by which time the great poets of the Romantic period had, for one reason or another, disappeared from the Parisian scene. Under the tutelage of Leconte de Lisle, Théodore de Banville and Charles Baudelaire, the neo-Romantic band of younger poets developed their *Weltanschauung* and attained to the mastery of their art. At the homes of these three leaders and at the salons of several cultured women of the period, they read their verses, discussed their ideas and, finally, laid the plans for the foundation of their periodical, *Le Parnasse contemporain*. The fifth-floor apartment of Leconte de Lisle in the Boulevard des Invalides was the *rendez-vous* of the Parnassians every Saturday;² here the prevailing spirit was one of serious consecration to literature. It was to the homes of other lesser figures in the social and artistic world of the day that the Parnassians repaired when they were in lighter mood. The purpose of this paper is to sketch briefly the history and the make-up of some of these gatherings.

At about the time when the band of admirers began wending its way in the direction of the Boulevard des Invalides, another smaller group was meeting more or less regularly at the handsome bachelor-apartment of Catulle Mendès in the rue de Douai. Mendès was the son of a wealthy Jewish banker of Bordeaux whose given name, Tibulle, explains the latinity of that of the Parnassian. Tibulle Mendès established his family in Paris in 1859; Catulle, though only nineteen years old at the time, had already made his literary *début* in the south of France, and his arrival in the capital had only strengthened his determination to gain fame in the world of letters. The generous allowance he received from his father enabled him to play the double rôle of Maecenas and Horace, and he decided to found a literary periodical. On February 15, 1861, there appeared in Paris, "au bureau de la *Revue*, passage Mirès, Escalier C,"³ the first number of *La Revue fantaisiste*, "le premier journal parnassien,"⁴ according to Mendès himself. This first issue contained contributions by Banville, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Daudet, Louis Bouilhet and Auguste Vacquerie, and subsequent issues revealed in their tables of contents the names of Richard Wagner, Sully Prudhomme and Léon Cladel. "Presque tous les poètes d'alors vinrent à *La Revue fantaisiste*,"⁵ says Mendès. There would gather of an afternoon, in the office of the review, Banville, Charles Asselineau, Philoxène Boyer, Baudelaire, Albert Glatigny and numerous others, many of whom made their first bow to the public through the medium of the Mendès periodical. A one-act play by Mendès published in *La Revue fantaisiste*, *Le Roman d'une nuit*, a dramatic trifle exceedingly

¹ A word of explanation is necessary as to terminology. In the course of this study, the name *Parnasse* is applied both to *Le Parnasse contemporain* and to the group of poets who contributed to it. The application of this name and of that of Parnassians to this band of poets as it existed before the appearance of the periodical, though anachronistic, is convenient and has become general.

² For a composite picture of the *salon* of Leconte de Lisle and its *habituels*, cf. F. Calmettes, *Leconte de Lisle et ses amis*, Paris, n.d.

³ Cf. the title-page of the first issue of *La Revue fantaisiste*.

⁴ *La Légende du Parnasse contemporain*, Brussels, 1884, p. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

reminiscent of both Hugo and Musset, brought the author-editor a fine of five hundred francs and one month's imprisonment at Sainte-Pélagie on the charge of "immorality"; the elder Mendès, who was none too sympathetic with his son's literary bohemianism, reduced his allowance and the review expired. Settling himself in an apartment in the hôtel du Brésil on the "rive gauche," Mendès weathered the period of parental disfavor by the composition of poems and by the cultivation of the friendship of kindred spirits, to whom he offered guidance and encouragement. Among the most important friends of this time were the two inseparables, Léon Valade and Albert Mérat. A reconciliation with his father enabled Mendès to set himself up on a rather sumptuous scale in a two-room apartment in the rue de Douai. Here he received, in addition to Valade and Mérat, such young writers as Mallarmé, Heredia, Léon Dierx, Ernest d'Hervilly, Léon Cladel, and especially François Coppée. The twenty-one-year-old Coppée was introduced to Mendès during the winter of 1863-64 by the Hungarian poet, Emmanuel Glaser, and immediately became the particular protégé of the genial Catulle, who is described at this time as being "élégant et joli comme un page, ayant le teint d'une vierge et une admirable chevelure d'un blond cendré qu'il laissait tomber en boucles folles sur ses épaules."⁶ Mendès, in his *Légende du Parnasse contemporain*, recounts at considerable length the pains he took to form Coppée's genius.⁷ If this account is a bit overdrawn, Coppée himself never hesitated to admit his indebtedness to Mendès. On one occasion, for example, he stated:

"Je lui dois beaucoup. C'est à lui que j'ai apporté mes premiers vers. Il les trouva exécrables et il avait raison. J'en refis d'autres qui ne valaient pas mieux. Il m'obligea à poursuivre; il me corrigea, il fut impitoyable, et je finis par devenir forgeron."⁸

In an essay on "Catulle Mendès et le Parnasse,"⁹ Coppée describes the rue de Douai apartment, tastefully adorned with water-colors and etchings and supplied with handsomely-bound books, prominent among which was the *Gaspard de la Nuit* of Aloysius Bertrand, "ce père, cet inventeur du poème en prose." The guests at the Mendès soirées were served by a fourteen-year-old domestic who had been jocularly nicknamed Covielle, after the clever valet of Molière's *Bourgeois gentilhomme*. These gatherings "chez Mendès," either in the hôtel du Brésil or in the rue de Douai, were amusingly burlesqued in an essay entitled "l'Hôtel du Dragon bleu" which served as introduction to *Le Parnassiculet contemporain: recueil de vers nouveaux*, a very obvious take-off on *Le Parnasse contemporain*, in which Leconte de Lisle, Heredia, Mendès and others were skillfully parodied by Paul Arène, Alphonse Daudet and additional rivals of the Parnassians. The full title of the introductory essay is "Une séance littéraire à l'Hôtel du Dragon bleu," and it recounts a visit of the Chinese poet, Si-Tien-Li, to the Parnassian *cénacle*.

"Tous les Parnassiens sont là," we read, "assis par terre, le long des murs et mâchant du haschisch.—Ils regardent sans rien dire une jeune fille en costume de statue qui

⁶ Cf. Jean Monval, "Deux camarades du Parnasse: Catulle Mendès et François Coppée" (*Revue de Paris*, March, 1909, p. 74).

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 205-17.

⁸ Quoted by Adolphe Racot, *Portraits d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, 1887, p. 8. Racot comments to the effect that if Mendès had done nothing more than discover Coppée, "ce serait déjà beaucoup."

⁹ In *Souvenirs d'un Parisien*, Paris, 1910, p. 76.

fait des poses plastiques, au milieu de la chambre, sur un tapis de pourpre fanée. À chaque nouvelle pose, un petit homme noir qui se démène au piano plaque un accord majestueux, pendant qu'un bel adolescent à longs cheveux dorés et bouclés (probably meant to be Mendès himself) vêtu de velours sombre, indique à la jeune fille les poses diverses qu'il faut prendre."¹⁰

One Parnassian explains to Si-Tien-Li that they are all *Impassibles* and that their *criterium* is to remain cold before the spectacle of life and to write in a style unintelligible to the vulgar. "Mort à la réalité," he adds, "et malheur à celui qui voudra la mettre dans ses vers." This legend of the Parnassians as an occult-loving, hash-eesh-eating, sacerdotally-posing group persisted in the popular imagination and accounts for the fact that the term *Parnassien* soon came to be used as an epithet of opprobrium in the mouths of the philistines and the "common-sense" writers of the day.¹¹

The Mendès group was introduced by the Hellenist, Louis Ménard, to that of Leconte de Lisle, under whose leadership it immediately placed itself. Mendès, however, did not by any means lose his own individuality by this amalgamation, and it was through his efforts that the *Parnasse contemporain* actually came into being. Upon the demise of the *Revue fantaisiste*, several short-lived and otherwise unimportant periodicals appeared to take its place, such as *La Revue française* and *La Revue du progrès*, which latter printed Verlaine's first published poem over the pseudonym of Pablo. The founder and editor of the *Revue du progrès* was Louis-Xavier de Ricard, whose father was a retired general and whose mother's salon in the Boulevard des Batignolles was to play an important part in the history of the Parnassian movement. At this time (1863), Ricard had a *logement* of his own in the rue de Douai and thus was a neighbor of Mendès, whose volume of verse, *Philomèle*,¹² had attracted his attention and that of his mother. The two men soon became friends and Ricard's group, which included many of the contributors to the *Revue du progrès*, some of them scientists, the others artists and men-of-letters, fused with that of Mendès and then with that of Leconte de Lisle, "et ainsi s'opéra par sélection la formation du groupe qui allait devenir tout à l'heure le Parnasse."¹³ Like the *Revue fantaisiste*, though for different reasons, the *Revue du progrès* fell afoul of the government; Ricard, its editor-in-chief, and Adolphe Racot, its *gérant*, though they were defended by Gambetta and other able lawyers, were forced to submit to imprisonment at Sainte-Pélagie, the former for three months, the latter for thirty days.

Undaunted by this penal confinement, Ricard determined to found another journal, this one to be devoted exclusively to the arts. Through Verlaine and his friend and later biographer, Edmond Lepelletier, he was introduced to a rather erratic violinist, Ernest Boutier, a "garçon non sans littérature, mais qu'un caractère assez fâcheux et que la manie de se singulariser vouèrent finalement à une solitude où nul ne fut tenté d'aller le déranger."¹⁴ Boutier was acquainted with Alphonse Lemerre,

¹⁰ *Le Parnassiculet contemporain*, Paris, Librairie centrale, J. Lemer, éditeur, 1867, pp. 12-13. Note the similarity of the publisher's name to that of Lemerre, the publisher of the Parnassians.

¹¹ An effective satire on the common-sense philistines of the second half of the nineteenth century is to be found in Villiers de l'Isle-Adam's *Tribulat Bonhomet*, the central figure of which is an excellent *pendant* to Flaubert's M. Homais.

¹² Paris, Hetzel, 1863.

¹³ L.-X. de Ricard, "Petits mémoires d'un Parnassien" (*Le Petit Temps*, November 17, 1898).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

who had taken over the publishing house of one Percepieu, 23 passage Choiseul, which had hitherto specialized in the publication of religious works, but had branched out, under its new ownership, into poetry. Lemerre was at this time engaged in bringing out editions of the poets of the *Pléiade* and, when Ricard broached to him the subject of a periodical for the encouragement of literature and art, he undertook its publication. The result was an expensively made-up weekly called *l'Art* (1865), the second of the "journaux parnassiens," of which Ricard was the financier and editor-in-chief and of which the contributors, among whom were to be found the principal members of the Leconte de Lisle, the Mendès and the Ricard groups, were the only readers. Ricard claims the credit of having clarified, through *l'Art*, the Parnassian aims and of having been the first to style the group *Les Impassibles*. Be that as it may, the magazine had so meagre a circulation and its publication was so costly that it was doomed to an early decease; Mendès, therefore, prevailed upon Ricard to convert it into a periodical to be concerned exclusively with poetry and to be edited conjointly by the two friends. And thus was born *Le Parnasse contemporain: recueil de vers nouveaux*, a name for the coining of which Mendès takes the credit although Ricard declares that it was suggested, after much discussion at the shop of Lemerre, by some member of the group whose name he had forgotten. "Ainsi," he says, "et en de telles circonstances, fut baptisé le volume. La gloire de la trouvaille en revient à un inconnu, dont l'histoire fâcheusement ignore le nom."¹⁵ But whether or not Mendès invented the name of the periodical, he was certainly its organizing genius. In the words of Racot: "*Le Parnasse contemporain* a été, somme toute, la grande date littéraire de M. Catulle Mendès. Quelles qu'aient été les excentricités et les exagérations de ce mouvement littéraire, ç'a été un véritable mouvement, et l'organisateur, sinon l'homme d'initiative première, fut M. Mendès."¹⁶ Throughout the life of the Parnassian group, Mendès "se montrait fier, un peu jaloux, du rôle qu'il avait joué en servant pendant quelque temps de point de ralliement à ces poètes dispersés, dont le succès allait couronner les œuvres."¹⁷ As long as he lived, he continued to lavish encouragement and even material assistance upon struggling poets, whether or not they were Parnassians; and numerous and heartfelt are the tributes to his generosity from the contemporaries whom he aided to a place in the poetic sun.

The *Parnasse contemporain* was first issued as a poetry-magazine, and five numbers, published at the imprimerie Toinon at Saint-Germain, appeared at irregular intervals in 1865. The review would soon have gone the way of most literary periodicals had not Alphonse Lemerre assumed the responsibility of the new venture. His book-shop at once became the *rendez-vous* of the contributors to the review, and Mendès and Ricard continued their editorial work with a view to bringing out in volume form those poems which had already been printed in the periodical together with many others. The volume bore the same name as the review and was published in 1866. The poets whose names were included in the table of contents began almost

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 208-09. Edmond Lepelletier, in *Paul Verlaine, sa vie, son œuvre* (Paris, 1907), attributes the authorship of this title to the philologist, Charles Marty-Laveaux.

¹⁷ Paul Bonnefon, "Catulle Mendès et le *Parnasse contemporain*—lettre inédite" (*Amateur d'autographes*, 1910, pp. 38-39). The "lettre inédite," written by Mendès to Ricard but probably never sent, sets forth the former's claim to the authorship of the name of the new periodical and protests against the failure of others to give him the credit he thought due him in connection with its career.

at once to be known as the *Parnassiens*,¹⁸ and were mistakenly viewed as a homogeneous group animated by identical ideas. This notion, according to the testimony of the principal Parnassians themselves, was totally erroneous. Mendès, for example, says:

"Attirés les uns vers les autres par leur commun amour de l'art, unis dans le respect des maîtres et dans une égale foi en l'avenir, ils ne prétendaient en aucune façon s'engager à suivre une voie unique.—Aucun mot d'ordre, aucun chef, toutes les personnalités absolument libres."¹⁹

And elsewhere he sums up this diversity of outlook and technique in the following sentence: "Je ne pense pas qu'à aucune époque d'aucune littérature des poètes du même moment aient été à la fois plus unis de cœur et plus différents par l'idée et l'expression."²⁰ Ricard is even more insistent that the Parnassians did not form a "school" but were broken up into a number of groups who met at the various *salons* and in whose midst were formed individual friendships, such as his own with Anatole France. He goes so far as to state that many of the Parnassians had lost interest in their volume even before it was ready for the press, and continues: "Le bel âge d'or de la confraternité était déjà perdu avant le Parnasse."²¹ This statement, however, is at least partly belied by the facts, as the remaining pages of the present study will abundantly show.

While the first *Parnasse* was in the course of preparation, the contributors would assemble almost daily "chez Lemerre." Here they would carry on lively, at times tumultuous, discussions on poetry and poets. "C'était le bon temps," says Lemerre himself,²² "le temps où, dans ma boutique, Verlaine et Ricard hurlaient: 'Vive Baudelaire et à bas Ponsard.'" The discussions were held, not in the book-store proper, but in a room in the part of the building known as the *entresol*. There was no semblance of parliamentary order at these gatherings, which occasionally waxed so boisterous that the clerk in the store would have to explain to some timid elderly lady buying, perhaps, a missal or a *livre d'heures*, that "ce sont des poètes qui causent esthétique."²³ Lemerre's *boutique* soon came to be known as the *entresol du Parnasse*, and has been celebrated under this title by Gabriel Marc, cousin of Banville and a contributor to the second and third *Parnasse*, in a series of very clever triolets.²⁴ It was in the "entresol du Parnasse" that Ricard first met Anatole France, then employed as a reader by Lemerre, and was at once filled with an admiration for the younger man that was to last a lifetime. It may not be out of place to point out that the guests at the banquet offered to Lemerre on January 24, 1902, on the occasion of his promotion to the rank of Officer of the Legion of Honor, did not include Mendès,

¹⁸ The authorship of this name has been attributed to Jules Barbey d'Aureville, who, in a series of articles printed in *le Nain jaune* for Oct. 27, Nov. 7 and Nov. 14, 1866, bitterly attacked the thirty-seven contributors to *Le Parnasse contemporain*.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 19 et seq.

²⁰ *Rapport sur le mouvement poétique en France de 1867 à 1900*, Paris, 1903, p. 114.

²¹ "Petits mémoires d'un Parnassien" (*Le Petit Temps* for Dec. 3, 1898).

²² *Banquet offert à M. Alphonse Lemerre à l'occasion de sa promotion au grade d'Officier dans l'ordre de la Légion d'Honneur le 24 janvier, 1902*, Paris, 1902, p. xx.

²³ Cf. L.-X. de Ricard: "Anatole France et le Parnasse contemporain—souvenirs inédits de jeunesse," in *La Revue* for February, 1902.

²⁴ "L'Entresol du Parnasse," written in 1870 and published in Marc's *Sonnets parisiens*, Paris, 1875. Lemerre, in the speech delivered at the banquet mentioned above, erroneously calls this poem "L'Entresol du Passage."

and that not the slightest reference to Mendès' rôle among the Parnassians was made either by Lemerre or by any of the other speakers of the occasion. Moreover, only one of Mendès' numerous volumes, a collection of *Histoires amoureuses*, was published by Lemerre. This seems to have sprung from a wilful desire on the part of Lemerre to ignore the participation of the man without whom, perhaps, the *Parnasse contemporain* might never have come into existence. If we must discount the importance attached by Mendès himself, in his various accounts of the Parnassian movement, to his share in the formation and growth of the group, it seems the height of ingratitude to exclude him entirely from its ranks, an ingratitude of which Lemerre alone seems to have been guilty.

The first *Parnasse contemporain* would seem to have been a financial success, as Lemerre brought out a second volume of verse with the same name, which included most of the contributors to its predecessor and many additional ones; the editorship of this collection was left largely to Banville, and, though the title-page of the volume bears the date of 1869, its actual publication was delayed until 1871. Five years later, a third volume, still under the same name and this time edited principally by Coppée, was published by Lemerre; but the work had by now become a mere anthology, as almost all trace of homogeneity that might be found in the first two *Parnasse* had completely disappeared. During this decade, Lemerre had been publishing the verse-collections of the individual Parnassians and, strange as it may seem that poetry should prove remunerative, had apparently reaped a plenteous monetary harvest from his ventures.

This, in brief, was the history of the *Parnasse contemporain*. For the sake of convenience, we might divide this history into two periods. The first might be called the period of preparation and extended from 1860 to 1865, when those who were later to be dubbed the Parnassians were gathering at the homes of Banville, Leconte de Lisle, Mendès, and Ricard and finally at the book-shop of Lemerre. The second was the period of actual production and lasted from the plans for the first *Parnasse*, in 1865, until the completion of the second at the end of 1869; the various Parnassian groups would seem to have been definitely dispersed by the Franco-Prussian War. After 1865, the Parnassians continued as the guests of the five men just mentioned; but with the attention attracted by the first *Parnasse contemporain* and as the reputation of its contributors grew apace, the poets began to be invited to the *salons* of divers charming and talented women and many of them soon became the lions of these *soirées*. It is to these gatherings that we shall now turn our attention.

Of the Parnassian *salons*, two deserve particular attention here, those of Mme la marquise de Ricard and of Nina de Callias; others need only be briefly mentioned. Mme de Ricard, as we have seen, was the mother of the editor of *L'Art*; attracted by the poetry of Mendès, she had encouraged her son to bring him and his friends to her *salon*, in her home at no. 10, Boulevard des Batignolles. According to Edmond Lepelletier, she was "une aimable femme, passablement coquette et étourdie, peu au fait de la littérature, mais adorant son fils et enchantée qu'il reçût des camarades, qu'il attirât des visiteurs notoires ou intéressants."²⁵ General de Ricard would seem to have abstained from participation in these gatherings. The heyday of the Ricard *salon* lasted from 1865 to 1868 and its importance in the career of the Parnassian group was considerable. Mme de Ricard was at home to the poets on Saturdays, though the intimate friends of her son did not feel bound by the conventions of the *salon* and visited the Boulevard des Batignolles whenever they were so inclined.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

The *habitués* of the *salon* included many, though not all, of the Parnassians as well as a few who were not members of the group. Prominent among the Parnassian guests were Mendès, Coppée, Sully Prudhomme, Heredia, Anatole France, Dierx and Villiers de l'Isle-Adam; occasionally Banville put in an appearance. Among the more important of those who were not Parnassians were the composer Emmanuel Chabrier, the painter Anatole de Beaulieu, Mlle Allard, who was soon to become the wife of Alphonse Daudet, and occasionally old Antoni Deschamps, one of the last survivors of the Romantic epoch. Ricard, in his "Petits mémoires d'un Parnassien," describes the pastimes in which his mother's guests indulged; the young poets, he tells us, were much more at ease here than in the homes of Banville and Leconte de Lisle, where they felt they must maintain the attitude of students in the presence of their masters. Encouraged by Mme de Ricard, they read their most recent verses, discussed aesthetics, manhandled "la littérature officielle"; when the spirit moved them, they played charades, and, on one occasion, they staged the first act of Hugo's *Marion Delorme*, in which Coppée played the rôle of Didier and Mendès that of Saverney;²⁶ there was even some gaming at the Ricard *salon*, the most addicted being Dierx and Coppée.²⁷ The merry group was dispersed by the war of 1870, which, it has already been noted, interfered with the publication of the second *Parnasse contemporain*, and effectively put an end to the Parnassian movement as such, though its influence was to be felt for at least another three decades.

The most important of the Egerias of the Parnassians was, perhaps, the eccentric dilettante, Nina Gaillard, better known by her pseudonym of Nina de Villard. The daughter of a Lyons lawyer, from whom she inherited a large fortune, Nina, against the wishes of her father, married, in 1863, a well-known and brilliant but bibulous journalist, Hector de Callias. Arsène Houssaye, who was one of the witnesses at the wedding, tells of the apparent happiness of the young couple, their intoxicating honeymoon, their unhappy conjugal career and their separation. Callias and Nina, he says, were "deux excentriques, ruisselants d'insenséisme. Ils avaient beaucoup trop d'esprit, ce qui les a tués."²⁸ Nina had been dazzled by Callias and loved him wildly at first; but his inveterate drunkenness and his unceasing infidelities soon disgusted her, and she left him after a few years to live with her mother and to become "la bonne hôtesse des Parnassiens."²⁹ The two women occupied apartments, successively, in the rue Chaptal, the rue de Londres, the rue de Turin, and finally in the rue des Moines in the Batignolles section, where Nina conducted what Houssaye has styled "l'Académie des Batignolles," which was frequented by many "villoneux et ronsardisants."³⁰ By 1868, when the *salon* of Mme de Ricard had begun to lose its attractiveness to the Parnassians, that of Nina had become the gathering-place of almost all those who were prominent in the arts and politics of the day. At this time, says Lepelletier, Nina was "une jeune femme de vingt-deux à vingt-trois ans, petite, dodue, vive, spirituelle; névrosée, quelque peu hystérique, fort avenante, et qui a laissé une réputation, justifiée d'ailleurs, d'excentricité, d'outrance et de franche hospitalité."³¹ Bersaucourt enumerates the leading *habitués* of Nina's *salon*; his list

²⁶ Cf. *Le Petit Temps* for July 4 and 5, 1899.

²⁷ Lepelletier, *op. cit.*, p. 182, is authority for this statement.

²⁸ Cf. *Les Confessions: Souvenirs d'un demi-siècle, 1830-90*, Paris, 1891, vol. V, p. 364.

²⁹ Albert de Bersaucourt, *Au Temps des Parnassiens—Nina de Villard et ses amis*, Paris, 1922, p. 27.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 366.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

mentions Mendès, Coppée, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Anatole France, Verlaine, Lepelletier, Méral, Richépin, Charles Cros and his two brothers, Emile Goudeau, Mallarmé, Rollinat, Germain Nouveau, the painters Manet and Degas, the radical Gustave Flourens, and many others. Ricard, perhaps jealous of the growing popularity of Nina's salon at the expense of that of his mother, went there very seldom and rather unjustly states that the *salon* itself was "sur les extrêmes confins du Parnasse."³³ He goes on to declare that Nina herself referred to her *salon* as her "Petit-Charenton."³⁴ He tells us, however, that Anatole France was a regular visitor and he even suspects him of having guided Nina's pen when she was writing the two sonnets which appear in the second *Parnasse contemporain*. France also collaborated with Nina in the composition of a one-act play on Eleonora d'Este which was rejected by the Théâtre français.³⁵ Emile Goudeau, in describing the beauty and the artistic endowment of Nina and the popularity of her *salon*, writes: "C'est dans cet artistique salon que je fis ainsi véritablement mes premières armes."³⁶ Musician, poet, sportswoman, interested in everything, even in magic, Nina "avait horreur des bourgeois,"³⁷ and whenever one was unfortunate enough to stumble into her *salon*, he was soon put to flight by the ridicule of her guests.

Mme de Callias received officially on Wednesdays and Sundays, but she kept virtually open house, so that guests appeared at all hours of the day and night, particularly at meal-times, and frequently spent the night on the living-room sofa. In the words of Lepelletier: "On montait 'chez Nina' jusqu'aux heures les plus tardives, certain d'y trouver gaie compagnie."³⁸ Of the pastimes indulged in by Nina's friends, some were "gais," even "de façon outrancière."³⁹ There was no gambling, however, and the time was usually spent in conversation, charades (which were the specialty of Verlaine and Lepelletier), eating and drinking, and the reading of verses. On one occasion, Verlaine recited a "chanson argotique" called "l'Ami de la nature," and thereby inaugurated a *genre* which was soon to become very popular. "Le salon de Nina fut en quelque sorte, par l'ironie, la fantaisie, la blague et la roserie des poèmes, chansons, saynètes qu'on y fabriquait avec une verve joyeuse, le prédécesseur, l'ancêtre du Chat noir."⁴⁰ The gatherings were chaperoned by Nina's mother, Mme Gaillard, who, though herself somewhat eccentric, as evidenced by the fact that her favorite pet was a monkey, seems to have been a good manager. It was she who supervised her daughter's estate, so that, though every penny of her income was squandered, her capital remained intact. Mother and daughter would appear to have been deeply attached to each other; a *dizain* by Nina about her mother concludes with the line: "Car je te trouve le plus cher des camarades."

Nina was a passionate admirer of life in all its phases, and was especially "éprise de choses belles."⁴¹ The author of a small volume of verse, published posthumously in 1885 under the title of *Feuillets parisiens*, Nina realized her poetic shortcomings and

³³ "Petits mémoires" in *Le Petit Temps* for July 1, 1899.

³⁴ *Ibid.* One of the principal insane asylums of Paris is in the suburb of Charenton.

³⁵ Cf. Ricard, "Anatole France et le Parnasse contemporain."

³⁶ *Dix ans de bohème*, Paris, Librairie illustrée, n.d., p. 113.

³⁷ Bersaucourt, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

³⁹ Bersaucourt, p. 11.

⁴⁰ Lepelletier, p. 179.

⁴¹ Bersaucourt, p. 32.

did not often impose her talents upon her friends. She was, however, one of the most ardent champions of the *Parnasse contemporain*. "Vous devinez de quelles acclamations le *Parnasse* fut salué chez Nina. D'ailleurs la jeune femme ne tarda point à y collaborer, et dès la publication de la seconde série, on y découvre son nom."⁴¹ The attacks of the critics were warmly refuted "chez Nina." "Quelle fureur dans le salon de Nina le soir qu'un fervent des novateurs apporta ce mince petit recueil où l'on pastichait les vers des Parnassiens"⁴² (*Le Parnassiculet contemporain*). Barbey d'Aurevilly's "Médaillonets"⁴³ likewise aroused intense excitement. "Que de querelles! Que de ferveurs!—Le salon de Nina n'avait jamais été plus bruyant, plus animé, et il va sans dire que la jeune femme défendait héroïquement ses amis."⁴⁴ At one of Nina's *fêtes*, a farcical pseudo-romantic drama written by the hostess herself in collaboration with Jean Richepin, Germain Nouveau, and, perhaps, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, was performed. A *soirée* at Nina's *hôtel* in the rue des Moines is interestingly described by Villiers de l'Isle-Adam.⁴⁵ It was the day after a "fête vénitienne" with which she had regaled her friends. Dinner was being served in the garden. The guest of honor was "un long et bel amateur mondain—en habit noir." The assembled poets, among whom were Richepin, Dierx, Mendès, Mallarmé, Auguste de Châtillon and Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, determined to rid the gathering of the importunate philistine and soon routed him with their joyous mystifications. "Nina, dans sa robe de chambre aux éclatantes fleurs japonaises, se balançait, une cigarette aux lèvres, en un fauteuil américain, sous un magnolia." The women guests included Mme Manoel de Grandfort, a faithful friend of Nina, and Augusta Holmès, talented daughter of a retired Irish army officer, herself a fervent admirer of Wagner, composer of lyric dramas, symphonies, oratorios and songs, and hostess, in her *salon* at Versailles, to musicians and writers such as Armand Silvestre, André Theuriot and Camille Saint-Saëns. After the company had partaken of refreshments, Nina called upon Dierx to recite some verses and he responded with a poem called "Au jardin." "Des vers exquis et adorables," comments Villiers. "Nous étions encore sous leur charme lorsque nous nous séparâmes, la soirée finie."

In a novel entitled *la Maison de la vieille* (1894), Catulle Mendès revived the *salon* of Nina de Callias. The heroine is here given the name of Stella d'Helys and the hero that of Georges Kramm; Villiers de l'Isle-Adam is disguised under the appellation of Odon. The hero of the novel was, in real life, the erratic poet, mathematician, chemist and inventor, Charles Cros, who was for several years Nina's lover, according to some contemporary accounts, and whose influence is noticeable in her *Feuillets parisiens*. Though Cros contributed two poems to the second *Parnasse contemporain*, he was not a genuine Parnassian and was soon to participate in the revolt against Parnassianism which crystallized in the work of the Symbolists and the Decadents. His collection of verse, *Le Coffret de Santal*, published in 1873 and dedicated to Nina, attracted some attention, especially because of its satirical monologues, a type of which, according to Bersaucourt,⁴⁶ Cros was the inventor and of which a poem called "Le Hareng saur," publicly recited by the actor, Coquelin cadet,

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴³ See note 18 of this study.

⁴⁴ Bersaucourt, p. 139.

⁴⁵ *Chez les passants*, Paris, 1890. The essay: "Une soirée chez Nina de Villard" occupies pages 9 to 17, inclusive.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

was the most notorious example. In 1874, Cros founded a periodical, *La Revue du monde nouveau*, the contributors to which included Banville, Sully Prudhomme, Dierx, Leconte de Lisle, Heredia, Mallarmé, Cladel, and even Daudet and Zola. In the first number of his *Revue*, Cros made sport of the Parnassians and other "schools" in parodies written in what he styled "rimes totales," that is to say, in verses in which every syllable of one line rhymes with a corresponding syllable in another. The following example of this sort of poetic mountebankery is quoted by Bersaucourt:

"Où, dure Eve d'efforts sa langue irrite (erreur) !
Ou du rêve des forts alanguis rit (terreur) !" ⁴⁷

The second number of Cros' *Revue* contains a laudatory account of a recital by Nina; with the third issue, the periodical came to an end. Cros was an active participant in the gatherings of the poets who christened themselves the *Hydropathes* ⁴⁸ (organized October 5, 1878) and later of the tumultuous *Chat noir* group.

Other poets, besides the Parnassians already mentioned, who frequented the *salon* of Nina, to which the Goncourts referred in their *Journal* as "cet atelier de détraquage cérébral," ⁴⁹ were the bohemian writer, painter and sculptor, Auguste de Châtillon, author of a volume of verse, *À la grand'pinte* (1860), and Maurice Rollinat, who declaimed many of his macabre *Névroses*, published in 1883, to the huge delight of Nina's guests. As in the case of Mme de Ricard's *salon*, however, the merry meetings at the home of Nina were interrupted by the Franco-Prussian War. After the Commune, Nina and her mother spent a long time in Geneva in a self-imposed, though not unpleasant, exile. Upon their return to Paris, they again took up their residence in the rue des Moines, where Nina resumed her turbulent existence and once more attracted about her a gay crowd of bohemians. Many of the Parnassians now held aloof, however, and the gatherings became more and more mixed. Nina was in the full flush of her reputation as an "originale" and, as might have been expected, soon went insane. Her dementia, which lasted for three years, consisted in her believing herself dead. It was in July, 1884, when she was thirty-eight years old, that she actually died; her body was followed to its grave in the *cimetière Montmartre* by only a small band of mourners one of whom, strangely enough, was the husband from whom she had so long been estranged. Bersaucourt concludes his study of Nina de Villard with the statement that she was deserving of sympathy because she was "bonne, indulgente, prompte à aimer, à comprendre et à sentir les belles choses" and because of her hospitality and encouragement to struggling young poets and artists. ⁵⁰

Some of the Parnassian poets were guests at the *salon* of the Princess Mathilde, of whose circle Heredia was a regular member. A few others, such as André Theuriot, André Lemoyne, Georges Lafenestre and Armand Renaud, were to be met at the *salon* of Mme de Sainbris, the wife of a music-teacher and composer of Versailles, where they were occasionally entertained by the eighteen-year-old Augusta Holmès,

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁴⁸ Cf. Goudeau, *op. cit.*, for an interesting account of this group.

⁴⁹ Cited by Bersaucourt, *op. cit.*, p. 88; the epithet is termed "une méchanceté inutile, une exagération absurde" (p. 89). It may be noted here that the facts of Nina's life and the information about her *salon* are drawn from Bersaucourt, unless otherwise stated.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

who played and sang for the group.⁸¹ André Theuriot describes a revival of *Hernani* at the Comédie Française during the World's Fair of 1867, at which all the Parnassians were present and furiously applauded the verses susceptible of interpretation as hostile to imperialism. Theuriot, who attended the gatherings at the home of Leconte de Lisle and in the *entresol* of Lemerre, was considered one of the group, "quoique je n'appartinse pas à l'école du Parnasse,"⁸² and joined the Parnassians in sending a message of congratulation to Hugo, still in voluntary exile on the island of Guernsey, on the successful revival of his great drama. Among the Paris cafés which served as *rendez-vous* for the Parnassians were the Café de Madrid and the Café des Variétés, both on the Boulevard Montmartre, and the Brasserie des Martyrs in Montmartre proper. But enough has been said to reveal the gregarious nature of the group. It must be stressed in conclusion, however, that the Parnassians did not compose a homogeneous "school" whose members all considered themselves inseparable brothers-at-arms. Ricard urges that there was really no "camaraderie parnassienne," but that the whole group was sub-divided into smaller cliques. "Le Parnasse ne fut pas une entente d'âmes dans un idéal commun, tout au plus fut-il un vrai rendez-vous d'artisans dans une formule d'art,"⁸³ a formula, however, which was "si large que l'évolution personnelle d'aucun n'en fut entravée ni même gênée."⁸⁴ According to Ricard, therefore, there was no "école parnassienne," no "solidarité parnassienne"; the friendships which were formed within the parent group were purely personal, frequently individual, affairs. Ricard, writing long after the demise of the *Parnasse*, would here seem to be speaking in a spirit of pique at his own failure to achieve a higher place in the realm of French poetry. Paul Verlaine more correctly looked upon the Parnassian group as a *cénacle* which lasted for a decade; "cette belle union," he says, "dura jusqu'à la guerre de 1870. Une catastrophe pouvait seul briser un faisceau si robuste.—La guerre parcela le *cénacle* en groupes, les groupes en couples, les couples en individualités amies mais irrémédiablement antipathiques. Et ce fut bien la fin finale de ce Parnasse déjà célèbre et qui restera illustre."⁸⁵ If it is true that the *Parnasse* has remained famous, it unquestionably owed much of its fame to the stimulation that it received at the homes of Banville, Leconte de Lisle and Mendès, at the *entresol* of Lemerre, and at the *salons* of Mme de Ricard, Nina de Callias, and Mme de Sainbris. The *salon* had again performed its historic rôle, in the formation of one of the most important poetic groups of nineteenth-century France.⁸⁶

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⁸¹ Cf. André Theuriot, *Souvenirs des vertes saisons*, Paris, 1904. Theuriot describes a *soirée* at the home of Mme de Sainbris in July, 1866.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ "Anatole France et le Parnasse contemporain," *loc. cit.*

⁸⁴ "Petits mémoires d'un Parnassien," in *Le Petit Temps* for July 9, 1900.

⁸⁵ "A propos du livre de M. Catulle Mendès sur le Parnasse contemporain" (*La Revue indépendante*, Dec. 1884, pp. 143-44).

⁸⁶ This is by no means the entire story of the Parnassian *salons*. M. Ibrovac, in his thorough-going study on José-Maria de Heredia (Paris, 1923), gives a sketchy review of the Parnassian gatherings, "en attendant une étude définitive" (pp. 75 et seq.).

REVIEWS

A Chronology of Vulgar Latin by Henri F. Muller, Halle, Niemeyer, 1929 (publ. as Heft 78 of the *Beihefte* of the *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*).

This latest work (171 pp.) on Vulgar Latin challenges the concept of the development of the Romance languages as heretofore generally held by philologists. The radical principles which form its basis will no doubt arouse vehement denial on the part of those scholars whose theories have ruled the linguistic world. That, among others, I believe to be the aim of the author. For if the principles presented in this book are contradicted, new data on the subject will have to be found. I venture to predict the finding of such data to be very difficult. For Professor Muller has examined what seems to be every available and pertinent kind of document of every century in France, Italy and Spain as well as the other regions of Romania from pre-Latin times through the thirteenth century. Nor is the linguistic situation presented alone by references to these Latin documents. Specialists in every field, Hauck for church history, Pigeonneau, Heyd, Inama-Sternegg for commerce and history, Engel and Serrure, Planchet and Dieudonné, von Ebengreuth for monetary conditions, Gregorovius and Flach for civil and political history, etc., etc., figure prominently in his *exposé*. The theories of every well-known philologist from the seventeenth century to modern times are refuted or supported. No stone is left unturned by the author to bring the truth to light. And if unbelieving souls disagree they will find a most imposing and solid array of facts to disprove and a still greater task in finding other facts to negate the principles of this book. For Professor Muller destroys theories only to build up new principles based on facts. Thus this book is simultaneously destructive and constructive in its purpose.

Before arriving at an examination of the various chapters, one feature must be mentioned which will strike delight to the heart of the sociologist, psychologist and historian: Never is a linguistic development demonstrated but that it is interpreted in its social, historical and psychological *milieu*. Such an interpretation makes the book, although of a profoundly scholarly nature, readable and fascinating as well as essential to the specialist in philology, history, sociology, and also to the layman, etc.

There are two strong currents underlying this study: The proof that the Latin of pre-Romance Romania was uniform in all essential respects; that the transition from Latin to Romance was not a gradual process, but a precipitate movement taking place in the last quarter of the eighth century. One last point: For reasons demonstrated completely the significant period of Vulgar Latin is held to be the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. On those centuries, the Merovingian period, the book hinges, although all known documents in Vulgar Latin are discussed. Finally, for reasons of space, a numerous group of important details have had to be ignored in this review.

In the first seven chapters Professor Muller has demonstrated the extraordinary commercial and ecclesiastical activity of the Merovingian period which will forever dispel the illusion that the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries were "Dark" Ages. More important still are the steps taken by the Church to insure complete Christianization of the masses and to eradicate anything that smacks of paganism. These

two main factors caused the thorough and unified Latinization of the Roman Empire, and, through the continual movement of merchants, monks, clerics, etc., prevented the growth of dialects in those centuries. Here are a few of the actual commercial and civil conditions gleaned impartially from the data accumulated from works of specialists in the Merovingian period and from the documents composed in that period: Growth of private real estate, unhampered admission of strangers to communities, election of bishops by the people and their unchecked passage from one diocese to another, speculation in wheat and wine, the presence of frequent taxes showing the need for them, buying of precious objects, trading in landed property, owning of property in various regions by an individual, the fundamental unity of the monetary situation, the increased activity caused by the colonization of Romania by the Barbarians, military service, local wars, distant expeditions. Trading was not confined to Romania alone: commerce with Egypt and Syria and other foreign lands was extensive. The part played by the Church and the influence emanating from Rome was the most impelling force in this Latinization: the Church forbids the ordination of deacons who cannot read, represses those practicing pagan rites, holds numerous councils, influences the building of numerous monasteries with the consequent world-wide colonization of regions by monks and their new function as leaders of their communities, inspires the writing of lives of saints read in church for the edification of the masses, increases the great pilgrimage movement to Rome. The fact is stressed and rightly so, that had any other language been more easily understood and spoken by the inhabitants of Romania, the Church would unhesitatingly have adopted it—for its purpose was utilitarian not esthetic. It therefore used the one common language of Romania, Latin, in its enormous social task.

In the 7th and 8th chapters are presented those historical and social conditions which, destroying the unity of Romania, caused various dialects to spring up. There is demonstrated, as well, the fact that the regional characteristics of the Latin Language were common to all parts of Romania before the year 813, when the councils of Charlemagne were held and when this unity of language was destroyed.

In chapters 9, 10, 11 and 12 are shown the fundamental linguistic features of pre-Romance Latin, which, reaching their ultimate growth in the second half of the eighth century, were the direct precursors of Romance. These are: phonetically, the lengthening of all stressed vowels and the subsequent shortening of unstressed syllables, causing syncope; phonological in origin and eventually morphological and syntactical, the weakening of declension and infinitive endings causing the development of the Latin oblique case and the confusion of active and passive infinitive of the third conjugation, the main factor in the final disappearance after the eighth century of the synthetic Latin passive; the evolution of the construction *facere* + infinitive to be found later in the Romance expression "*faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un*." And all these basic Vulgar Latin features are shown to have developed chronologically, one from the other, and to have reached the height of their development in the three main regions of Romania, Spain, Gaul and Italy in the last half of the eighth century up till the year 813 when the acknowledgment of the existence of the *Romana lingua rustica* was made. Then, and only then, could real dialectalization set in. Practically every Vulgar Latin phenomenon was characteristic not of a particular region, but of France, Spain and Italy; and these conditions explain the failure of such scholars as Du Cange, Muratori, Sittl, Diehl, Schuchardt, Gröber, Bresslau, Geyer, Pirson, etc., to find proofs of early dialectalization. Chapter 12 is devoted to a minute examination of Professor Menéndez Pidal's latest book *Orígenes del Español*, which examination simply bears out the results given above.

In chapters 13 to 17 is given a résumé of the social conditions which caused the early appearance and development of Romance in Gaul and the existence, some three or four centuries later, of Spanish and Italian. Syncopation and the crystallization of the two-case system are the decisive features in the dialectalization of the Latin in the West. The rapid increase of the stress accent, the emphasis given to the tonic syllable are explained psychologically and sociologically. The masses to a great extent reigned supreme in Gaul. To them the *élite* (and the culture of the *élite* approached very closely that of the common man) cater, in their language the *élite* speak and write, for them are composed lives of saints written and read in Church, for them and by them are laws, scientific formulas, homilies drawn. We can see that, along with the relatively lower culture in Gaul, a great democratic spirit and catering to the masses existed. Thus, this emphasis given to the stress accent, so characteristic of the common man, expresses his inner emotions stirred by the great work of Christianity. And he is encouraged to give free rein to those emotions, just as the clergy do who preach to him.

To resume, we find a situation in Gaul, not found, or at least to a negligible extent in Spain and Italy, especially after the eighth century. In Gaul it is proved that the essential difference in the Latin of the second half of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth is due to the difference in the aims of those who use it. In the former period religious teaching was done in an incorrect language by men almost unconscious of this fact and possessed of a grammatical knowledge hardly superior to that of the people. After 813 the literary use of Latin was for cultural expression and was directed by men having a literary and grammatical knowledge. So after the councils held only for France and Germany in 813, syncopation and diphthongization rapidly developed, so that by 842 the *Romana lingua rustica* is the *Romana lingua* or Romance in France. Yet the literary, although oral, use of this speech in the religious life of the people there, so important at that period, maintained a morphology of the noun and adjective that helped to preserve the Latin order of words and permit easy translation of Latin originals, sermons and homilies, lives of saints, etc.

In Italy a lay aristocracy ruled the destiny of the language. In that region no such concern and interest in preaching to and for the people are found. No oral literature or collection of legal documents for and by the common people abound. The commoner is suppressed, and his language ignored. In Italy the national language was the language of the *élite* even when Dante in his *De Vulgari Eloquentia* advocated the use of the Italian language.

In Spain a similar situation existed although not so clearly defined as that of Italy. There was in the ninth and tenth centuries a spasmodic popular movement; but it was not until after the eleventh century that the new Spanish soul emerged in the formation of Castilian, as has been so well brought out by the great Spanish scholar Professor Menéndez Pidal in his *Orígenes del Español*.

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Otto Jespersen, *An International Language*, W. W. Norton Co., N. Y., 1929, 196 pp.

It is some fifty years since J. M. Schleyer brought out the practical international language,¹ Volapük. It was soon brilliantly successful: it was discussed in inter-

¹The idea had been suggested before in the works of Descartes, Comenius, Leibnitz and others; see L. Couturat and L. Leau, *Histoire de la langue universelle*, Paris, 1903.

national congresses; books and periodicals were written in Volapük. But after a relatively short period of prosperity it suddenly collapsed, for reasons which seem obvious enough now: it was too dependent upon the caprice of the inventor and it ran counter to the most elementary precepts of word-formation and morphology. Even while Volapük was in its brief day of triumph, L. L. Zamenhof had introduced his Esperanto in 1887. This new international language was decidedly superior to Volapük: it displayed greater ingenuity in taking over words with the minimum of changes from existing languages, and it had fewer arbitrary grammatical forms. First attaining considerable success about the beginning of the present century, Esperanto gradually increased in prestige until at the present time "Esperanto" and "International Language" have become synonymous for the average person. Other international languages indeed have cropped up from time to time: Idiom Neutral, Universal, Ido, Latino sine flexione, etc., have been hopefully launched on a skeptical world. However the only interlanguage that has shown any marked vitality is Esperanto. And even Esperanto is more or less of a *tour de force*; its forms are often ingenious rather than comprehensible,² and it is pretty evident by now that it will never be anything but an international hobby.

Realizing the inadequacy of Esperanto and, indeed, of all its linguistic rivals, Otto Jespersen, the famous Danish philologist, has introduced a new international language which he calls Novial (derived from *Nov* = "new" + *I. A. L.* = "International Auxiliary Language"). Novial, it may be said at the outset, enjoys the unique distinction of being "the first interlanguage ever framed by a professional philologist" (p. 59). As a trained philologist, Jespersen has the historical sense, the critical viewpoint and the essential tolerance that some of his predecessors, notably Schleyer and Zamenhof, sadly lacked. In fact, this latest attempt at an interlanguage is marked by pleasing sanity and lack of presumptuousness. In the first place, Jespersen has no intention of supplanting existing languages; Novial is to be an *auxiliary* language, "a sort of substitute for national languages whenever these are not capable of serving as means of communication" (p. 11). Again, it is not to be an arbitrary affair: it is to be a *constructed* language, a careful amalgamation of the best efforts that have hitherto been put forth in the field (p. 59). Finally, Jespersen is not insistent upon our accepting Novial in its entirety in its present form; he is "willing to accept criticism and new suggestions" (p. 60), even to the extent of testing alternative forms in practice and adopting them if they prove to be more suitable than his own.

It would be impossible, of course, to give anything like a satisfying idea of Novial in this review. It will suffice, perhaps, to point out a few of its features: (1) There are only five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*; no distinction is made between phonetic *e* and *ε*, *o* and *o*; all rounded front vowels and nasals are eliminated.—(2) The troublesome letter *c* is eliminated (except in the digraph *ch*), *k* representing the palatal and *s* the sibilant.—(3) Adjectives are not inflected, and thus one avoids the artificial pattern offered by Esperanto phrases like *chiuj tiuj bravaj homaj agoj* = "all those brave human acts."—(4) In the formation of the vocabulary Jespersen tries to find a common denominator between the various European tongues: Romance roots form the groundwork of Novial, but Jespersen finds occasion to include such Germanic words as *blind, nur, bald, darf*, etc.—The following specimen will indicate the simplicity of Novial, as well as its rather curious blending of Romance and Germanic roots:

² Jespersen cites as an example (p. 39) the word "ghistiamajn" = "previous," which has the following elements: "ghis" = "up to," "tiam" = "then," "a" = adjectival ending, "j" = plural, "n" = accusative.

"Un objectione kel on audi tre ofte fro linguistes e altres es disi: even si omni teranes vud lerna un sami lingue, li uneso vuld bald desapari e diversi lingues vud existeska, samimen kam li romanali lingues blid produkte per li disfalo de latinum."³

It does not suffice to propose an international language; it is also necessary to "sell the idea." Realizing this very well, Jespersen has brought up a number of reasons for adopting a constructed international language: (1) "In these days of cheap travel, of international science and of world-politics, it seems an urgent need . . . to have an easy means of getting in touch with foreigners" (p. 17).—(2) In scientific congresses, the handicap of not understanding the language that is employed prevents free discussion (p. 13).—(3) In the case of printed works, many valuable items are lost to the world of thought because they are written in one or the other of the minor languages (pp. 14-15).—(4) It would be impossible, for reasons of national jealousy, to adopt an existing tongue as an international language (p. 18).—(5) Latin, whether Classical or Mediaeval, would be impractical because of its lack of adaptability to modern conditions⁴ (p. 19). Of course objections galore will at once occur to most readers; Jespersen has endeavored to forestall these objections as far as possible by indicating and answering a number of them:

Objection.

(1) A language is a living thing, and it is no more possible to set up an artificial language than it is to create a homunculus in the laboratory.

(2) Men of different nationalities will never be able to pronounce the same words in the same way.

(3) Constructed languages can never be as good as existing languages.

(4) Even if one language were adopted throughout the world, it would evolve into a number of dissimilar languages again, as in the case of Latin.

Answer.

There are many artificial elements even in existing languages. We must study existing languages, find out the laws of their development, and then build on what has most vitality (pp. 21-22).

The phonetic system of Novial has been so simplified that this objection is not very serious; besides, a sort of phonetic mean will be established (pp. 25-26).

Novial is only an auxiliary language to be used for practical purposes; therefore its aesthetic beauty is a matter of minor importance (p. 28).

The prevalent ease of intercourse makes for linguistic unity rather than differentiation. But even if this differentiation were to take place, it would be in the rather distant future: "After us the deluge!" (pp. 28-30).

In the logical nature of its construction and its comparative simplicity, Novial appears to be superior to all the other artificial international languages hitherto proposed. But will it ever be possible to secure universal acceptance of an artificial language in the first place, and then to keep it free from the disintegrating influences of linguistic evolution?⁵

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³ "An objection that one hears very often from linguists and others is the following: even if all inhabitants of the earth learnt one and the same language, the unity would soon disappear, and different languages would arise in the same way as the Romance languages were produced by the splitting up of Latin."

⁴ Jespersen refers here to the suggestion of G. de Reynold (*Revue de Genève*, May and June, 1925) that Mediaeval Latin be adopted as the international language.

⁵ Cf. Objection 4 above.

Charles Baudelaire, *Les Paradis artificiels. La Fanfarlo*. Notice, notes et éclaircissements de M. Jacques Crépet, Paris, Conard, 1928.

The invariable excellence of the critical editions bearing the Conard imprint is to a large extent due to this publisher's perspicacity in his choice of editors; in every case, the works of each author are entrusted to a scholar preeminent in his field. Thus we find that Professor Baldensperger has been selected for Musset and Vigny, MM. Bouteron and Longnon for Balzac, and Dr. Armaingaud for Montaigne.

M. Jacques Crépet is another example of what we mean: his superiority over other commentators past or present in the field of Baudelairean research is beyond dispute. Carrying on the work begun by his father, who prefaced his edition of the posthumous works of Baudelaire in 1887 with a biographical study that is still indispensable whenever facts and not anecdotes are required, M. Crépet has been publishing articles and books on Baudelaire for a period of thirty years.

It would be a great mistake, however, to deduce from this long devotion to the poet's memory that M. Crépet is a "Baudelairean," in the sense that Brunetière was accustomed to use this word, meaning the sort of myopic and extravagant admirer typified by Mr. Arthur Symons. If M. Crépet is an ardent admirer of the works which occupy him, he is most careful to keep his dithyrambs out of the annotations, for these are in a tone that is both dignified and appropriate.

This volume, the fifth to appear in a collection which will probably comprise as many as fifteen tall octavos, continues a tradition of not only thorough, but we might even say inspired, interpretation and elucidation of a work that demands the lightest of touches and the keenest of critical acumen. As in the other volumes, there is a history of the trials attendant upon the publication of the work in periodicals and in book form, together with generous notes (at the end of the volume, where they should be), and all the variants, not only of printed versions, but of the various manuscripts that have come to light. Especially interesting is the manner in which M. Crépet has treated the influence of early reading of such works as the *Hallucinations* upon the *Paradis artificiels*.

We have two remarks to make, not of primary importance, it is sure, but which may have escaped the attention of this editor. In the *Magasin pittoresque* for 1840, there is a long quotation from Musset's translation of the *English Opium Eater*, probably the first excerpt of this work that could have come to Baudelaire's notice. This appeared five years before the first edition of the *Hallucinations*, and we have fairly clear evidence that Baudelaire was at least an occasional reader of this review.

Finally, in the *Revue internationale* of Geneva, where portions of *Eureka*, translated by Baudelaire, were published, there is a London letter announcing the death of Thomas de Quincey, which contains this passage:

"De la mort de Quincey, je ne dirai rien, puisque vous devez publier prochainement une traduction de la fantaisie la plus originale qu'il ait jamais écrite; je laisse à mon collaborateur le soin de vous raconter la vie et les ouvrages d'un écrivain populaire en Angleterre, et parfaitement inconnu en France."

We know that there was a question of publishing Baudelaire's translation on De Quincey in the *Moniteur universel* and the *Revue française*, and that, both of these periodicals having refused the work, it appeared at last in the *Revue contemporaine*. Could Baudelaire have been in *pourparlers* with de Roze, the editor of the *Revue internationale*, also, before that gentleman cut short the installments of *Eureka*?

W. T. BANDY

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G. L. van Roosbroeck, *Grotesques*. Illustrations by J. Matulka, New York, Living Art, 1929.

When Marcel Schwob published his first collection of tales, in 1891, what is called the general public was not the wiser for it. The work was acclaimed by the knowing ones as one of the literary events of the year, however. Schwob, through the next few years, more than fulfilled the promises of his first book, and as a stylist, as an essayist, as a prose-poet, as a narrator of symbolic and fantastic tales, he established himself as the peer of his great predecessors: Gérard de Nerval, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Jules Laforgue.

The appearance of *Grotesques* recalls that of *Cœur Double*. Here we have a promise and an achievement. The evocation of Marcel Schwob is further justified by the fact that his spirit seems to hover over these tales. Their author, who is what Marcel Schwob wished always to be, a University Professor, is an example of that rare phenomenon: the scholar who combines sound erudition with creative imagination. Professor van Roosbroeck's learning is the equal of that of the author of *Spicilège*. The exquisite delicacy of his intriguing, complex, hyper-sensitive intelligence recalls at every moment that of his spiritual progenitor. One senses in him the spirit of a Benedictine paleographer working hard to keep his literary faculties alive, and succeeding in doing so. The tales he publishes to-day are the first crop of this fertile imagination finding a healthy manna in the ample resources of his erudition. That is why, in spite of their fantastic nature, the spirit that prevails in them is one of discipline. There is pessimism in them, a somber idealism that bespeaks the frustration of the thing we call civilization, a skeptical romanticism that verges on the baroque sometimes, and sometimes on the tragic. But their sarcasm is never bitter; their cynicism is never destructive. Their author harbors no illusions about life. Though as a poet he can create them, as a rational thinker he is most careful not to be caught in them. Though he can dream beautiful dreams, he is never lost in them. His cosmic visions are those of an artist, not those of an abstract speculator. He creates a happy admixture of symbolic realism with philosophic pessimism, and that is recreating the art of a Schwob and of a Laforgue in the mother-tongue of the master of them all: Edgar A. Poe.

Professor van Roosbroeck's style is personal, carefully wrought, though sometimes too intricate for superficial reading. But it is always orderly and lucid. The illustrations by J. Matulka harmonize well with the allegorical atmosphere of the book. As to the individual tales, where all of them are of such excellence, it is difficult to express preferences. The "Three Fables for the Children of To-Morrow" seem to me most significant. If their author lives up to the high promise which they hold forth, I have no doubt that the "children of to-morrow" will remember them, and that they will assign to him a place in American letters that will recall that occupied by a Marcel Schwob in French literature.

S. A. RHODES

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Concha Meléndez, *Amado Nervo*, New York, Instituto de las Españas, 1928, 83 pp.

Rather than a heavily documented study, this booklet brings us a lyrical apotheosis of this reflective poet—after Rubén Darío the most significant among the *Modernistas*. And one may wish that this "appreciation" would have been less lyrical and diffuse, here and there, but more concentrated and precise. Two im-

portant points might have been more stressed: (1) The quality of Nervo's intellect; (2) The foreign influences in his work.

In verbal artistry, in sheer mastery of chastened form, Darío remains the supreme virtuoso. Amado Nervo has less nimble fingers, less brilliancy on the surface, but what his verse loses in refinement of form, it gains in depth of thought, in philosophic significance. In fact, his approach to poetry was intellectual—especially in his latter years when the first effervescence of the *Modernista* reform had passed. Thought remained central with him; his poems acquired more importance as illustrations of a philosophic thought than as "poésie pure" composed only for art's sake. Often his prose and poetry were modulations on the same and recurring philosophic theme. It was, so to speak, in the central laboratory of his intellect that the æsthetic experiments of the poet were evolved. His reflective and mystical verse "se asoma todo a su interior hambriento de enigmas y de eternidad." Much in his life contributed to strengthen this tendency towards intellectualization. His search for the new and the unexplored was stimulated, after his early studies for the priesthood, by his meeting with Gutiérrez Nájera, and his travels to Europe where he was to become the intimate friend of Rubén Darío. No doubt the author of *Los Raros* further initiated him into the several Arcana of the Symbolist epoch, and he always carried with him a devout love for Paris, which he called the "divina ciudad de albas azules."

Although Nervo held the principle that genius is always original and unexplainable, "es siempre un milagro," few authors have sat at the feet of so many masters—not so much for his form perhaps, as for his philosophy, or, rather, his philosophies. Omnivorous, he read and absorbed the best, and the more doubtful, and the mediocre. He succeeded in placing Nietzsche beside Annie Besant without feeling the clash. An "hombre ultra-culto," as Srta. Meléndez puts it, he became intellectually a dilettante who could transform himself under a thousand disguises, each equally true and equally intense, yet without losing his own individuality. All ideas fascinated him, and often he balanced them one against the other, just as Gourmont or France might have done. He says: "El que piensa mucho, no puede querer nada en definitivo; no sabe optar con resolución por nada, porque en su cerebro el pro y el contra se equilibran y balancean." Pedro Henríquez Ureña illustrated this state of mind vividly when he depicted Amado Nervo as an "espíritu legendario," wandering through the great forests of India, to the shores of Greece; as enclosed in a fearful tower during the Middle Ages; as living the jeweled dreams of the *Thousand and One Nights*; as transforming himself into an aristocratic pseudo-shepherd courting the rosy lady-shepherdesses of eighteenth century France. . . . But his diverse mental attitudes do not only recall the past, they are often intensely of his age. His Buddhism, for example, is reminiscent of the European current which, through Schopenhauer, reached Jean Lahor; his conception of Christ recalls both Renan and Schuré's *Les Grands Initiés*, when he calls Jesus "el más perfecto tipo de idealidad que se haya producido en el planeta." His *Hermana Agua* suggests the nature-mysticism of St. Francis of Assisi, to whom the Sun and the Wolf were brothers. . . . For his prose studies on the mysteries of the human mind—the subconscious, abnormal psychology, mental aberrations—he perused James, Ribot, Bergson, and others.

He assimilated much, and much that is inherently conflicting. His intellectual conceptions are unoriginal and uncritical. Yet, for all that, we have the feeling that we stand before a definite personality. And although one can easily indicate the points of contact with his contemporaries and with contemporary thought, his work betrays an emotional quality which remains his own. However diverse, relativistic

and flexible his intellect, emotionally he craves the absolute. He suffered the "torment of infinity." In *that* lies his unity, his personality. It is the centripetal force that drew his conflicting ideas to a focus. It is to the unfathomable Infinite that he prays in his plaintive *Elevación*, and implores forgiveness for having asked over and over again the insoluble question of the *Why* of existence. Exactly because of this constant emotional obsession of the Infinite—grafted upon a changeable, an ever-shifting intellect—he wandered through all varieties of religious experience, through all diverse philosophies. And when the wanderer came to the end of his winding road, he stood at his very point of departure: mystic he began, and mystic he ended. In each one of his new gods, in each one of his ultimate ideals—whether he baptized them Christ or Superman or Humanity or Buddha—we should see but the fleeting, the ever-changing symbols of that great Thirst that he tried to quench at so many springs. "Ce sixième sens, ce sens de l'Infini," sighed Jules Laforgue.

But, if she did not explore deeply Nervo's intellectual life and its manifold origins, Srta. Meléndez has stressed, and rightly so, the personal element in his complex work. By concentrating on the emotional unity that lies beyond his bewildering intellectual instability, by elucidating his constant preoccupation with the mysteries of life and destiny, she has composed an understanding and enthusiastic interpretation of this tortured and restless seeker, whose temper still remains modern, notwithstanding the passing decades.

W. S. Robertson, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda. Tour of the United States. 1783-84*, New York, The Hispanic Society of America, 1928, xxxvi + 206 pp.

The Hispanic Society deserves great credit for bringing out this absorbing *Diary of Francisco de Miranda*, the "Precursor of Spanish-American independence." It is a document of first rank, which throws into clear relief the figure of this Venezuelan general, who, having caught the revolutionary fever, became a citizen-of-the-world, a friend of the North American insurgents, a general in the army of the French *Sans-Culottes*, and a promoter of revolutions in general. Resourceful, restless and indomitable, he travelled from country to country, negotiating everywhere with ministers and governments to obtain help for his plan of overthrowing the Spanish rule in South America. Everywhere during his travels he carried with him a number of precious leather-trunks in which he kept his diaries and his very compromising correspondence neatly classified. When, at last, he became Dictator of Venezuela, he brought them to his fatherland as a monument to his own zeal as a liberator. But it was written that the strange Odyssey of these documents should not end there. He was betrayed to the Spanish Royalists by disgruntled partisans, and thrown into prison, in which he died in 1816. But the Dictator had, before his arrest, taken measures to save his archives as well as his personal property. He succeeded in bringing them aboard an English brig, the *Sapphire*, and in consigning them to an English merchant, G. Robertson, in Curaçao. But in Curaçao his property was detained by the English custom officers, who at once informed Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for war and colonies, of their strange find. The Spaniards, in the meanwhile, claimed the extensive archives as well as the other property as belonging to the Spanish crown by right of conquest, but Lord Bathurst—much concerned about the confidential correspondence of Miranda with the English government—issued orders to have them spirited away to England. He kept the archives in his private office and eventually transferred them to his estate at Cirencester. For over a century they were "lost," until Professor W. S. Robertson discovered them. By a strange

coincidence the discoverer bears the same name as the merchant to whom Miranda finally consigned his papers!

It is from this extensive collection of inedited records that Professor W. S. Robertson has selected this *Diary* of Miranda's early travels in the United States, from June 1783 to December 1784. It brings interesting glimpses of post-revolutionary America. Miranda was received here in a true spirit of revolutionary brotherhood and met many of the outstanding Americans of that time. He was entertained by the Rev. Joseph Willard, president of Harvard College, visited John Trumbull, the author of *M'Fingall or the Progress of Dullness*, was invited by Alexander Hamilton, the Van Cortlandts, and many others. It is rather quaint to see him describe King's Bridge as "un puentezuelo de madera sobre Harlem-River, o Spiking-Devil como vulgarmente le llaman"

This *Diary* reveals many points of interest for the relation of North and South America during the Revolutionary Period and is replete with first-hand observations on the condition of our country at that time. For the biography of this collaborator of Bolívar it remains invaluable. Let us hope that the treasure chest of Miranda's papers will be put again to contribution for another one of these revealing volumes.

J. García Mercadal, *En Zigzag (Por Tierras Vascas de España y Francia)*. Madrid, Excursionismo, 1928, 330 pp.

The Basque country and its people remain the Sphinx of Spain whose riddles remain still unfathomed both by the Spaniard and the outsider. For centuries the Basques stood as a nation apart, with a separate language and immemorial customs, enclosed in their rugged mountains as in a bulwark. And these customs and language continue to arouse a passionate interest in the scholar and the traveller who are able to forget the *Baedekers* in order to observe a self-contained people in its most picturesque aspects. Even now one is transported there to the days of the Troubadours; holidays are still celebrated with poetical contests as of yore in the noble's hall; extemporized poetry is flung back and forth like the balls in the *pelota*, that other immemorial Basque game. . . . Far from the beaten highways, one can still find there shrines and castles uncharted by any guide book and unknown to the archæologist. . . . One can visit the birthplace of some of its famous sons: the fearless Unamuno, and the dryly iconoclastic Baroja. . . . One can go on a pilgrimage following the trail of the heroes of medieval lore through the valleys and the mountain passes, and admire the rock which Roland, in his fury, cleft with one blow of his mighty sword. . . . Or, after having read Loti, one can visit the villages of its daring smugglers, which he has depicted with so brilliant a brush. . . . In Bayonne one can admire the Goyas and some magnificent Grecos. . . . And one should not forget the Basque Museum of Bayonne, which, although founded in 1922, is becoming more and more a repository of all that represents best the past and the folklore of this sturdy nation. García Mercadal's *En Zigzag* is eclectic enough to content two categories of travellers: Those who seek spiritual ventures and those who seek mere enjoyment in changed surroundings.

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r. blanco-fombona, *diario de mi vida, 1904-1905*, renacimiento, Madrid, 1929.

Before opening this latest book by Blanco-Fombona the absence of capital letters and the two unusual pictures on the cover might make one think that the author

had 'gone futuristic' entirely. The contents of the volume, however, concern facts and ideas which he has already presented in the form of essay and fiction.

Amid many digressions which are, of course, permissible in a diary of this sort, Blanco-Fombona relates the varied, rapidly moving events of his life during the years 1904 and 1905. At the age of thirty he left the easy, pleasant life of a consul in Amsterdam and Paris. A wave of patriotic enthusiasm impelled him to return to the *tierruca* eager to work for the regeneration of the fatherland. But President Castro was a practical politician, convinced that the proper place for young intellectuals with zeal for social and political reform is safe in the bosom of the consular service and as far away from Venezuela as possible. Blanco-Fombona's sudden return to Caracas must have embarrassed the President, who did not intend to let this young hot-head get into politics and into mischief in the capital. Castro was also a resourceful man; so he appointed this rash, ugly-tempered idealist, governor of the Territory of Amazonas, which is Venezuela's 'Wild West' and is situated along the upper reaches of the Orinoco. Out in the *selva* in the territorial capital of San Fernando de Atabapo the new governor would be safely out of the way while he lived and, besides, it is a territory where, both before and since Blanco-Fombona's incumbency, governor mortality has been extremely high.

The first hundred pages of the *Diario* are the European part of the book and contain anecdotes and gossip about Blanco-Fombona's books, his friends, his sweet-hearts and his mistresses, and about his life in Amsterdam, Paris and Madrid. Now and then he pauses to set down some observation or opinion, as for example:

"Roma me inspira respeto; París me inspira admiración; Madrid me inspira amor."

"No puedo negarlo; los españoles me gustan: son generosos, caballerescos, valientes . . . cuando no son todo lo contrario."

In speaking of Spanish misunderstanding of Spanish-Americans, he says:

"Hoy mismo corre como válido en la mayoría, con respecto a nosotros, un error grave: nos creen mucho más ricos y mucho más brutos de lo que somos."

There is also a sentence which is an ever recurring motif in his stories and novels:

"A mí me ha impresionado siempre el espectáculo de la bondad puesta en ridículo, con la ironía más amarga, por la Vida."¹

This first part of the book is called *Un año plácido*. The second part bears the title *Un año trágico* and deals with the author's trip to San Fernando de Atabapo and with his imprisonment in Ciudad Bolívar. The account of the journey is practically identical with that published fourteen years ago under the title *Viaje al Alto Orinoco, 1905*.²

After resisting an attempt against his life in San Fernando, Blanco-Fombona escaped down the Orinoco, but upon landing at Ciudad Bolívar, his enemies had him arrested, charging him with various irregular and arbitrary acts. While awaiting trial he was detained for six months in a filthy prison crowded with thieves and murderers. In prison, too, his life was endangered by plots as well as sickness. Finally his case was transferred to the federal courts in Caracas where he was acquitted. During all this time Blanco-Fombona kept a diary and wrote many letters to both friends and enemies. He also wrote his first, and probably his best novel—*El hombre de hierro*.

¹ Pages 53, 29, 33, 20.

² In *La lámpara de Aladino*, Madrid, 1915, pp. 331-393.

The most striking thing about the book is the jarring contrast between the hopes and ideals of the first part and the sordid picture, given in the second part, of the greed and violence of lawless provincial officials whom the central government is too weak or too indifferent to restrain.

D. F. RATCLIFF

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Giuseppe Lando Passerini, *La Vita di Dante (1265-1321)*, Firenze, Vallecchi, 1929, 423 pp., L. 12.

Revised, expanded, and made more attractive in every way, this new edition of Count Passerini's life of Dante will receive a warm welcome. It is the third "edition" but not technically so, because first published—in its original form, and under the title simply of *Dante*—by a different house (Caddeo of Milan); hence there is no indication of the fact on its title-page, or elsewhere. It is far from being completely new, however: the wording of the first form has been followed in broad outlines, and often in exact or nearly exact phrasing; the general arrangement has been pretty scrupulously preserved, even where its natural sequence as a biographical treatise did not necessitate it; and the extra fulness is due chiefly to intercalated paragraphs or sections—for example three pages in Chapter X on the *Tensone* with Forese—or entire chapters—such as II, on the Florence of Dante's day; V, on the Alighieri coat-of-arms; XXVII, XXVIII, and XXXI, on the *Convivio*, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, and *Monarchia*, respectively; most of XXXVI and all of XXXVII, on the *Divina Commedia* (though all these works are treated, less fully, in the final chapters of the first edition; while the new edition ends with chapters on the Commentators, and the vicissitudes of Dante's bones). The part on the Portraits of Dante (in Chapter XXIX of the first edition) has been replaced by about twice as many pages, which are largely a reprint from pages 3-19 of the author's *Il Ritratto di Dante* (Firenze, Alinari, 1921). These improvements and additions, together with the introduction of copious quotations not only from the works of Dante and other literary writers but also from documents, archives, chronicles, and the like, give the pages a life, and the treatment a satisfying quality, that not seldom was lacking in the often unrelieved, usually long-paragraphed, pages of the original form.

The book has also been greatly brightened by improvement in the typography and layout; as well as by the incorporation of a large number of cuts illustrating places, buildings, medieval drawings, manuscripts, and so forth, and a profusion of headpieces and *culs-de-lampe*. With regard to these cuts it must be said, however, that while on the whole they are rather pleasing, many—too many—of them fall just short of a degree of excellence commensurate with the general standard of the volume. This is true of the technique displayed in general; and there is further a disturbing feeling of unreliableness in specific cases: as when we find, for example, by comparison with photographic reproductions of the originals, that the engraver has botched the features and expression of several of the Dante "portraits" in such a way as to make the cuts quite valueless, and indeed misleading (as, e.g., on pp. 359 and 366); or that he has still further distorted drawings already quite sufficiently distorted in the originals—as when the cupola of S. Lorenzo, on p. 43, is made to reach nearly a whole story nearer the top of the campanile than it should; and the proportions of the Badia, on p. 30, are not less strangely twisted. In both these cases the inscription states that the drawings are "dal codice Rustici"; so it would not seem that there has been a deliberate attempt to correct the drawing. (This famous MS, incidentally, is several times quoted; and always with the name as just

given: is this a new, or corrected, spelling? Davidsohn and others whom I have been able to consult regularly give it as "Rustichi.") Another instance, to specify only one more among several, where the lack of artistic excellence is not compensated for by any informational value, is in the drawing on p. 127 which is supposed to represent the "Mercato vecchio a Firenze." It is perhaps too much to expect plenty of good illustrations in a work which is sold for the exceedingly low price quoted; but it really seems as if a higher price or fewer and better cuts—or even both—would be both condoned and lauded in subsequent editions. And finally, the value of those cuts which have value would be greatly enhanced if they were more consistently placed with the text which they illustrate, or at least were accompanied by the number of the page to which they are related.

There are further a few matters concerning the usefulness and acceptability of the book to students rather than to the general reader, to which the reviewer—wholly with helpful intent—would like to call attention: First, it is not evident what text has been followed for the quotations from Dante's works: careful comparisons show that it is neither the *Testo critico* of the Società Dantesca Italiana, nor the text of Casella, nor that of the old *Oxford Dante*; nor yet is it even that of the author's own editions of Dante's various works. Again: the spelling of some proper names has not been standardized; for example of San Gemignano (var. "Gim-"). Then, the "Indice di persone e di cose notevoli" is so nearly complete and satisfying that it should be made entirely so—at least for the proper names: the reviewer noted the absence of "Calimala" and of Ristoro di Montemurlo and his wife Bencisia and some others, though not particularly on the trail of such omissions; he further discovered, without especial search, that misprints, most often in the page-numbers, are disconcertingly frequent in this part of the book. (Elsewhere, misprints seemed quite rare—which is indeed admirable in so complicated a kind of text.) Slips and errors (in one or two cases perhaps only typographical), noted, include the following: p. 47, l. 16, "7 di giugno" is evidently for "17 di giugno"; p. 62, l. 19, "primo" should be "secondo" (as the first edition correctly has); p. 208, l. 29, "prime" should be suppressed; p. 331, l. 27 (and the note, 82, on p. 399), gives Biagi's edition of the *Quaestio* (Modena) as of date 1908 instead of the correct 1907; p. 352, l. 14, calls our Professor R. T. Holbrook "l'inglese"—repeating the error which also occurs in Passerini's *Il Ritratto di Dante* (p. 13), and which evidently arose from the fact that the American professor's *Portraits of Dante* was published in London (1911); p. 383, l. 17 f., seems to need a "non" in the phrase "la gloria di aver avuto. . . ." And, finally, the work is so comprehensive that one is rather surprised to find, in the discussion as to the choice between the dates 1300 and 1301 for the Vision, no mention of the famous "Profhacius" almanac.

But if the size of the paragraphs in a review could be in direct relation to a reviewer's favorable, as against his faultpicking, reaction to the book involved, then certainly this one would have to be much more than doubled in length, so that its conclusion might show a preponderant ratio of enthusiastic appreciation as over adverse criticisms. The complex, and often baffling, story of Dante's life and works is told against that super-intricate background of his environment, with a clarity, a perspective, a vividness that fascinates the reader, while at the same time it gives a reassuring sense of reliability and scholarliness.

As against the first edition, which saw the light in 1921, and in those ominous days of Italy's anxious hesitating seemed to feel and reflect that light as only twilight at best—with perhaps the night at hand—this new edition is radiant, in its very

phrasing and makeup, with the glow of reborn faith and the fervor of renewed confidence in the destinies of that nation to whom Dante has always been the chief High Priest and Prophet.

H. D. AUSTIN

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Henri Hauvette, *L'Ariosto et la poésie chevaleresque à Ferrare au début du XVI^e siècle*, Paris, Librairie Honoré Champion, 1927, 389 pp., avec 3 planches hors texte.

M. Hauvette, professor of Italian literature at the Sorbonne, brings to his study of Ariosto a calmness and fairness of judgment which one is accustomed to expect of French erudition. The precise subject of his inquest is not very clearly indicated in the title, for the subject of chivalric poetry at the court of the Dukes of Ferrara is little more than outlined. It is rather to offer himself as a guide, as a literary *cicerone* to the modern reader, wandering through the labyrinthine forest of *Orlando Furioso*, that M. Hauvette presents his book to the public. There are then no new or original theories and facts about the life and works of Ariosto; the method is expository and didactic, and is addressed to the student reader. To make easy the understanding of *Orlando Furioso*, the surroundings in which the poem was produced and the divers forces which went to act upon the life of the author are described. This constitutes the first part of the study. The second and more important division is devoted to a minute scrutiny of the poem itself.

For the life of Ariosto the principal sources are to be found in his own works, in his Satires, *De diversis amoribus*, in his Letters and in *Orlando Furioso*. Born to the life of a courtier, in a court which, although professing an interest in the fine arts, was, in reality, more occupied with affairs of state, Ariosto found himself a very unhappy man. This is quite apparent in the reception which the Cardinal Hippolyte gave to Ariosto's life work: "Messer Ludovico, where the deuce did you find all those silly stories?" The poet was sensitive to this lack of appreciation on the part of a prince whom he had served so faithfully and whose only reward was to appoint him to an arduous military charge. He died, as can be imagined, a disillusioned and embittered court servant whose only desire had been to consecrate himself to his art. It is difficult to see that Ferrara was an ideal or propitious milieu for a poet of Ariosto's temperament; so we find in his life the key to much in that poem which was his crowning achievement.

There are few persons one supposes, except scholars by profession, who have read the entire contents of this vast panoramic tableau in nearly forty thousand verses. In English literature there is an almost exact counterpart to it in Spencer's *Faerie Queene* (the comparison is far from gratuitous), which suffers from the same neglect. And this is not difficult to understand. The heroic deeds which form the substance of both poems are too numerous and elaborate in their "continued allegory and darke conceit," too baffling in their frequent irrelevancy to hold the attention of the modern reader, who turns with relief from the fitful episodes to the heavily scored purpled patches. M. Hauvette tries to remove this obstacle by retelling the scenario of the "plot"; but the résumé of the principal themes, however condensed, occupies nearly fifty pages! Even with this map of the landscape one is in danger of losing one's bearings.

The last part of the book is concerned with different questions presented by the text: Sources (the reader is referred to Pio Rajna's *Le Fonte dell'Orlando Furioso*),

originality, allegory, love, the poet's attitude toward chivalry, etc., etc. These pages are rich in penetrating criticisms. M. Hauvette knows his text and is dealing most of the time with the poet and not with what other writers have said about him. There are certain details which call for comment. It is a hard question to decide exactly what Ariosto's attitude was toward chivalry. M. Hauvette can entertain no doubt on this question, yet he quotes, and it is the only line that he does quote,

"O gran bontà de' cavalieri antiqui"

to support his contention of a surreptitious sense of humor in the poet. Spencer, whose perception in these matters was perhaps surer than ours, was less convinced of the sincerity of his Italian rival and undertook to "overgo" *Orlando*. The question is difficult, if not impossible, to decide since judgments here are always personal, and proof is lacking.

M. Hauvette's *manual* has the merit of uniting between the covers of one book all the essential facts known about Ariosto and his poem. And the student is well prepared, after reading it, to find his way through the tortuous paths of *Orlando Furioso*. The divisions of the book greatly facilitate its use, while the treatment is lucid and sympathetic.

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F. Zaman, *L'Attribution de Philomena à Chrétien de Troyes*, H. J. Paris, Amsterdam, 1928, 109 pp.

Since G. Paris first attributed the *Philomena* episode in the *Ovide Moralisé*¹ to Chrétien de Troyes,² there has been considerable diversity of opinion among scholars as to the appropriateness of the attribution.³ We have in the way of positive evidence to that effect the well-known passage in the *Cligès* in which Chrétien describes himself as the poet who sang

"... de la hupe et de l'aronde
E del rosignol la muance." (6-7)

This indicates clearly that Chrétien wrote a *Philomena*, whether or not it were the one utilized by the *Ovide Moralisé*. Also, in the *Philomena* episode of the *Ovide Moralisé*, the author says:

"Mes ja ne descrirai le conte
Fors si com Crestiens le conte,
Qui bien en translata la letre. . . ." (2211-3)

and later

"De Philomena faut le conte,
Si com Crestiens le raconte." (3685-6)

On the whole the *Philomena* debate has centered about certain arguments advanced by W. Förster and A. Hilka against the attribution. It is maintained that Chrétien de Troyes could not have been the author of the *Philomena* on the following grounds:

1. Ll. 733-4 read:

"La meisuns estoit an un bois,
Ce conte Crestiens li Gois."

¹ Ed. C. de Boer, 2 vols. (first six bks.), Amsterdam, 1915-20.

² *Rom.* XIII, 399-400. Cf. *H. L. F.*, XXIX, 489 ff.

³ For a bibliography of the *Philomena* dispute, cf. Zaman, pp. 33-6.

How is one to explain "li Gois"? "Derselbe Kristian wird sich doch in seinem Erstlingswerk nicht Cresttiens li Gois und später Cresttiens de Troies genannt haben" (Förster, *Wörterbuch*, p. 27).⁴

2. There are certain morphological and syntactical features in the *Philomena* that cannot be paralleled in the acknowledged works of Chrétien de Troyes; Förster points out such cases as the use of *el<illa*, *peüst*, *ierl*, etc.

3. There is an allusion to "la mesniee Hellequin" in l. 192 which, according to Hilka (ed. of *Yvain*, p. xxxiv), cannot have been known to Chrétien.

4. Hilka (*ibid.*) has pointed out that *Philomena*, a Greek maiden, is represented as saying: "Tel est l'usage as François" (280).

5. Hilka (*ibid.*) has indicated a long descriptive passage in the *Philomena* (126-204) that he thinks is scholastic in style and not at all reminiscent of Chrétien.

M. Zaman, utilizing and occasionally supplementing the arguments of his predecessors, has answered these objections thus:

1. He thinks that "li Gois" (pronounced *gouais* in the fourteenth century, when the *Ovide Moralisé* was composed) represents the name of the author of that poem: he is mentioned in three MSS as Crestien le Gouais [Gouays, Goways]. Why is the name used in l. 734? M. Zaman follows the suggestion of F. E. Guyer: "Chrétien le Gouais, who had thus far followed his model, Chrétien de Troyes, desired to add a little detail that he had found in the Latin text and not in Chrétien de Troyes, to wit, that "La meisun estoit an un bois." He adds: "Ce conte Cresttiens li Gois" in order to indicate that he and not Chrétien de Troyes is responsible for the statement.

2. M. Zaman disposes of the alleged morphological and syntactical differences involved in summary fashion. Förster had declared that certain constructions in the *Philomena* could not be paralleled in the works of Chrétien de Troyes; M. Zaman retorts that Förster means *not* the works of Chrétien but the critical text established by Förster according to his preconceived notion of what the text should be. M. Zaman has only to consult the variants that Förster had rejected in order to find abundant parallels for each one of the moot *Philomena* constructions.

3. He quotes F. Lot⁵ to indicate that Chrétien might well have known of the "mesniee Hellequin."

4. The inaccuracy in *Philomena*, 278 ff., may be paralleled by similar inaccuracies in the works of Chrétien.

5. Chrétien might well have written the "scholastic" passage of ll. 126-204, which is a perfectly conventional development of descriptive material.

Following this critique of his adversaries, M. Zaman adduces what he considers are positive arguments: the similarities in style between the *Philomena* and the works of Chrétien de Troyes, and the similar treatment of the love material.

If these positive arguments are rather too general to be conclusive one may say that M. Zaman, in the main, has successfully refuted the "anti-attributionists." Granting the justice of his procedure in utilizing the variants and not merely the critical text of Chrétien de Troyes, it must be admitted that he easily disposes of the cases in (2); and Hilka's arguments (3, 4, 5) being quite flimsy cannot withstand analysis. Still, "li Gois" is as much of a stumbling-block as ever before. Guyer's

⁴ Also cf. A. Hilka, ed. of *Yvain* (*Rom. Bibl.*), 1926, p. xxiv. For a full discussion of "li Gois," cf. Zaman, pp. 15-30.

⁵ *The Influence of Ovid on Chrétien de Troyes*, Chicago, 1921, p. 243.

⁶ *Rom. XXXII*, p. 437.

interpretation, adopted by M. Zaman,⁷ has always seemed to me quite extraordinary: as though the author of the *Ovide Moralisé* were to say: "I have been quoting thus far from Chrétien de Troyes, but as for the statement that 'the house was in a wood,' remember that it is not Chrétien de Troyes, but I, Chrétien le Gouais, who am responsible for it." Such meticulous concern for factual accuracy would be praiseworthy, but hardly possible.

Hinne Zwanenburg, *Posse et son évolution en vieux français*, Dissertation, Groningen University; Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1927, xii + 111 pp.

Posse is probably derived from *potis esse*: ¹ "to be powerful, capable"; the radical *pot* is also to be found in words like *potior*, *possideo*, *compos* (in the phrase *compos mentis*), etc. The derivative *posse* probably had a physical connotation at first, but the verb came to imply not so much physical prowess as power and might over one's possessions, animate and inanimate. At an early period *posse* was combined with a complimentary infinitive, with the meaning of "to be powerful enough or capable enough to perform the action that the infinitive expresses": "Finge datos currus: quid ages? poterisne rotatis Obvius ire polis?" (Ovid, *Mét.*, II, 74). Later there was a progressive weakening of this original sense: *posse* came to imply not physical strength but moral strength: "Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci poterat" (Livy, XXI, iv, 5). Then the idea of subjectivity was introduced: *posse* might express emotion: "*Potesne* tibi haec lux, Catalina . . . esse iucundus, etc." (Cicero, *Cat.*, I, vi, 15), or attenuation: "Ut celsitudo vestra *potest* habere compertum" (Saint-Avit, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., antiq. Auct.*, VI, ii, p. 22, l. 6), or the idea of eventuality, in which case it was practically equivalent to *forsitan* or *fortasse*: "Mihi ita persuadeo—*potest* fieri, ut fallor—eam rem laudi fore" (Cicero, *Fam.*, XIII, 73).

Posse is also found without a complementary infinitive, as in the case of the idiom *in bello multum posse*. Here the original significance of the word is retained; the idea of strength, power, influence is more or less clearly implied. It should be noted that in this case *posse* is not used intransitively: there is (save in a few isolated instances ²) a direct object, which is generally a neuter pronoun, such as *multum*, *plus*, *plurimum*, etc. Probably the transition of the intransitive verb *posse* to a verb admitting of a direct object may be explained on the basis that the object has more or less adverbial force.³

Most of the constructions indicated above may be paralleled in the case of Old French *pouvoir*. The original meaning of Latin *posse*: "to be powerful, capable," is still to be found: "Ewruins ott en gran dol, Porr o que ventre no lo en poth" (*Saint Léger*, ll. 63-64). This acceptance, however, is to be found much less frequently in Old French than in Latin. In many cases it is not physical ability but moral or persuasive force that is involved: "Ni ule cose non la pouret omq pleier" (*Eulalie*, l.

⁷ M. Zaman thinks that "Ce conte Crestiens li Gois" applies not merely to l. 733 but also to the six preceding lines; an examination of the passage in question does not bear out his contention.

¹ According to A. Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1910; cited in Zwanenburg, p. 1.

² See Zwanenburg, pp. 20-21. The construction seems to be elliptical in most of these cases.

³ There are other instances of Latin intransitive verbs taking direct objects. Cf. "At pius Aeneas, . . . Multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amor" (*Aeneid*, IV, 394-395).

9). Or else the case in question may concern a circumstance not dependent upon the subject, but necessary for the accomplishment of the action involved in the verb: "Fait lui son lit o il *puet* reposer" (Alexis, l. 47, b). Even this tenuous connection with the etymological significance of *posse* may disappear, and *pouvoir* may come to signify, as in the case of *posse*, emotion: "E Olivier, qu'il tant poeit amer" (Roland, l. 2216), attenuation: "Emperere, dist ele, trop vos *poez* preisier" (Pelerinage, l. 13), or eventuality: "Se vos contenez a mon sans, Si con je vos lo contenir, Granz biens vos an *porra* venir" (Yvain, l. 1316). In certain cases *pouvoir* + infinitive seems to imply simple futurity: "Se j'i *puis* nului entreprendre, Miauz li vendroit estre a Pavie" (Rom. de la Rose, l. 3750). Again it may be a species of subjunctival auxiliary: "Car il ne puet cuidier ne croire, Que ses voloirs *puisse* avenir" (Yvain, l. 1427).

We have seen that *posse* may occasionally be used without an infinitive; there are similar instances in Old French. Corresponding to the idiom *in bello multum posse*, we have: "Suz ciel n'ad gent qui plus *puissent* en camp" (Roland, l. 3040). Again, as in Latin, *pouvoir* may be used not only without an infinitive but without any modifying word whatsoever: "Cil diex vos saut, Qui sor toz homes *puet* et vaut" (Fabliaux et Contes, ed. Barbazan, IV, v, 122). Sometimes *pouvoir* thus used has the force of *potest* = "it is possible": "il ne *peult* qu'il ne le congnoisse" (Pathelin, l. 1300).

After a detailed comparison of *pouvoir* with certain modal auxiliaries, notably *savoir* and *devoir* (Chap. VI), Zwanenburg concludes his study with a list of the texts utilized and with certain imposing statistics.

I have hardly been able to do justice to Zwanenburg's monograph in the foregoing brief survey. Of course no two scholars would agree upon the arrangement of the material or the categories to be adopted; still Zwanenburg's discussion is always stimulating, and it is bolstered up with a wealth of illustrative material. If there is a weak point in the presentation of this material, it is that by establishing so close a parallel between the various uses of *posse* and *pouvoir*, Zwanenburg makes it appear that there was a marked similarity in evolution as well as usage in the case of those two verbs. This impression is somewhat strengthened by the rather misleading title of the monograph; it is really an examination of the various uses of *pouvoir*, rather than a study in semantics, as the chronology of the examples indicates.

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FRENCH BOOK NOTES

André Gide, *The School for Wives*, translated by Dorothy Bussy, N. Y., Knopf, 1929, 117 pp.

"Robert is no hypocrite. He imagines that he really has the sentiments that he expresses. And I think even that in the long run he actually does have them, that they come at his call—the finest, the most generous, the most noble, always exactly those that it is proper—those that it is advantageous—to have." . . . "How I wish I could see him, if only for once, defend a cause for which he would really have to compromise himself, experience sentiments from which he could derive no advantage, have convictions which would be of no benefit to him!"

This deft post-mortem is exercised by an exceedingly perspicacious wife on the corpse of her dead love for a proper and pompous, but instinctively dishonest husband. From a too naive young girl—forget-me-not eyes and blue ribbons on a shepherdess'

hat—who, as a saccharine *bourgeoise*, "just adored" the shallow egotist she married, she turned into a new Nora, rebellious and precipitating her own tragedy. She develops a rigid, a Puritan conscience, a severely exacting uprightness. She wants her husband to be what he appears to be—tired as she is of living with a phantom, with an embodied pretense, with an actor of the most mediocre of bourgeois ideals. Her agony consists in her coming slowly face to face with her own thoughts, in her useless struggle in the grip of her increasing disillusion; his tragedy, or comi-tragedy, consists in the fact that he is really unable to understand his own personality, which would, perhaps, hardly exist if robbed of its lofty strutting. What does exist in him is a hard kernel of the most grasping egoism, covered with layer after layer of verbose and ostentatious hypocrisy, of which he is but half aware. He goes up in glory as a naive and yet tortuous arrivist of his type invariably will. Adorned with an undeserved decoration, he has no longer any doubts as to the authenticity of his virtues and his merit. At the end we catch a glimpse of him in his ascension as a budding moral leader, bolstering up the weakening "morale" of Paris during the war—whereas she goes to sacrifice, to a hospital for infectious diseases, with the secret hope of an early death.

Villiers de l'Isle-Adam studied a similar feminine rebellion in his *La Révolte* but his work lacks all the nuance, the psychological shading of Gide, although it hurries just as relentlessly to the unavoidable conclusion, to the clash and wreck of minds and souls which in the greatest intimacy have grown apart as bitter enemies. *The School for Wives* is one of these self-flagellating confessions in which Gide finds the easier outlet for his tortured and perplexed mind with all its irreconcilable antinomies. An important part of his work is written in the rather conventional form of intimate confessions noted down day by day in the acute awareness of a psychological conflict, and always tending towards renunciation and sacrifice. It leaves the impression of a soliloquy, in which the successive masks are but the mouthpieces of his own unrest. "C'est en écartelé que j'ai vécu. . . ."

But so much has been written on Gide's *Culte de l'Inquiétude* that one should not yield to the temptation of analysing it once more. It is singular to note that he is now finding a following in America. The translation of *The Counterfeiters* in 1927 marked the beginning of a modest, but very lasting interest in his exceptional work. And, since Gide is one of these who, once found, are difficult to lose, his work will no doubt increase slowly, but unavoidably, its hold upon the more discriminating part of the American public.

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Karl Grass, *Das Adamsspiel, angelnormannisches Mysterium des XII Jahrhunderts.*

Third revised edition with Introduction, Notes, Vocabulary and Index, Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1928, lxxv + 112 pp.

The first edition of the *Adamsspiel* was published by Professor Grass in 1891, the second in 1907. As in the two previous editions, we are given here the text of manuscript 927 of the city library of Tours, without any corrections or additions of importance wherever the language may appear incorrect or the versification faulty. It is indeed Professor Grass' main purpose to offer us an accurate rendering of the primitive text, even at the sacrifice of an easier reading.

The revision consists principally of the elimination of the poem on the fifteen signs of the last judgment which, in the manuscript, follows immediately the *Adamsspiel*; of some minor additions to the notes to render a few passages more compre-

hensible; of the substitution of some abbreviations by words written in full—all these changes or additions being printed with special types or put between parentheses.

In his Introduction, Professor Grass emphasizes the literary importance of this mystery play, its origin, dramatic unity, esthetic value (pp. xiv–xxi); he speaks of its being handed down to us incomplete in its contents, for the manuscript of Tours contains neither the beginning nor the end of the *Adamsspiel* (pp. xxi–xxiii); finally, he lays special stress on the Latin stage directions (pp. xxiii–xxv). There follows the phonology and the morphology of this mystery play (pp. xxxvii–lxxv) with the pointing out of a few peculiarities as regards its language and versification (pp. xxv–xxxvi).

The Notes are rather abundant and somewhat lengthy, now and then (pp. 48–95). A number of words could be omitted in the Vocabulary, such as *ainé, aider, blé, creature, face*, etc., all well known to the student of Old French. Their presence is indeed cumbersome.

Das Adamsspiel is part of the *Romanische Bibliothek* (No. 6), known for its scholarly editing of French texts. No doubt, Professor Grass' present edition comes up to its high standard.

Tragédie du Sac de Cabrière, ein kalvinistisches Drama der Reformationszeit, herausgegeben von Karl Christ, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle (Saale), 1928, iv+132 pp.

In publishing the *Tragédie du Sac de Cabrière* according to the only existing MS (Library of the Vatican), E. Christ has presented a very early specimen of a drama staging an event of contemporary history. It dates about the same time as Gabriel Bounin's *La Soltane*, 1561, which is considered the first play based upon contemporary history in the literature of the sixteenth century. Yet, whereas Gabriel Bounin derived the subject-matter of *La Soltane* from Oriental history, the author of the *Tragédie du Sac de Cabrière* put upon the stage events that took place in 1545 in the southern part of Provence. This was an innovation. Neither Théodore de Bèze nor André de Rivaudeau, nor Desmases, nor Jean de La Taille, foremost among Protestant dramatists, had thought of introducing contemporary events into historic drama. The Bible and Antiquity were deemed to be the only sources capable of yielding adequate topics for the stage.

The anonymous author's technique is clearly that of the Renaissance drama: division into five acts, chorus, narratives, never more than three actors speaking on the stage, no prologue, no epilogue, unity of action and time, but not of place. The preponderance given to religious polemics is particularly noticeable. Almost one-third of the play is devoted to them. This *confession de foi*, pertaining to the early times of the French Reformation, will also be of interest to historians of religion.

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FRANCIS M. DU MONT

Clausius Grillet, *Victor Hugo Spirite*, Libr. E. Vitte, Paris, 1929, 215 pp.

In 1853, during his sojourn on the island of Jersey, Victor Hugo became interested in table tipping, being infected by the enthusiasm of Mme Girardin. For three years following he was in continual communication with spirits, spirits of Molière, Shakespeare, Jesus Christ, Balaam's Ass, the Lion of Androcles, the Angel of Death and any number of personified abstractions. The spirits obligingly discussed philosophy and theology, made prophecies, and even wrote verses remarkably like Hugo's own. He apparently took the whole affair with extreme seriousness (the seriousness of a Ro-

mantic), so much so that his poetry of this period shows the influence of spiritualistic ideas.

M. Grillet uses chiefly *Les Tables Tournantes de Jersey* (published in 1923 by Gustave Simon and containing word for word accounts of the seances) to build up the thesis that Hugo was both influenced by and influenced the poetry of the spirits, and tried in his own verse to express metaphysical ideas communicated by the tables.

Hugo emerges from M. Grillet's hands with a Messianic complex. He apparently believed in reincarnation and a vast slow world-purification, and that all material objects had souls, showing a particular tenderness for pigs and toads. The poetry abounds in large vague symbols; and along with it his drawings became astonishingly symbolic. In the *Fin de Satan* he attempted a world epic.

One is reminded of Blake's familiarity with deity, as well as of his combined graphic and verbal expression of visions. The case is built up by quotations from Hugo's own writing and a comparison of his own verse with that of the spirits. The parallels are striking. The book is interesting as a critical study of Hugo's later poetry which M. Grillet is inclined to defend from the charge of decadence. He sums up the spiritualistic influence thus:

"Je veux bien que même s'il n'eut jamais interrogé les tables, il eût entendu les matins clairs hennir les chevaux de l'aurore. Mais son imagination, encline depuis toujours à animer la nature, se trouve désormais libérée, galvanisée par les expériences de Jersey et elle découple sa puissance créatrice."

M. Grillet gives a chapter or two to the facts and discusses *Dieu, La Bouche d'Ombre, Les Contemplations, La Légende des Siècles*, and *La Fin de Satan* in detail. He does not attempt to explain the communications of the tables, considering that problem to lie in the field of specialists in psychic research.

Claude Farrère, *La Marche funèbre*, Paris, Ernest Flammarion, 1929, 289 pp.

There is a gradual progression from journalism to literature. The qualities that make for success in these two departments of writing differ greatly, yet there is a middle ground where they mingle. *La Marche funèbre* probably lies on the journalism side of the dividing line. Clever sensationalism, a manipulation of character so as to produce continual drama, stripping away of everything except love interest, above all plenty of coincidence, these are not enduring qualities. The book has the slickness and surface facility of long practice. The theme, that of the rivalry of mother and daughter for the same man, might with adequate treatment prove interesting; here it is quite crudely melodramatic. M. Farrère's qualities seem rather those of the dramatist than the novelist. His characters embody very simple emotions and are fond of aphoristic comments on life. The moral of the tale is, if one lives selfishly, one invites nemesis. It is only too often and too obviously stated.

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ROMANCE LANGUAGE CLASS-TEXTS

Labiche and Martin, *Le Voyage de Monsieur Perrichon*. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Exercises and Vocabulary by Leon P. Irvin, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1929.

Professor Irvin has produced an excellent new little edition of a standard school and college text which, among many improvements on previous texts, has the highly

important and interesting addition, in the Introduction, of new biographical material gathered from unpublished letters, manuscripts, etc., put within the editor's reach by the grandson of Labiche and the granddaughter of one of his collaborators. The innate modesty of Labiche in hesitating to present himself as a candidate for the French Academy, his desire to write a successful serious drama, win our sympathy and will endear the author of charming comedies all the more to those students who have not yet learned to appreciate him.

Short and easily understood notes in French figure at the bottom of the pages. The exercises in French at the end are highly satisfactory and thorough, including not only material to be written, but also oral phonetic drills, questions to be answered by the students, all manner of direct-method exercises and also paragraphs in English for translation. The vocabulary is short and complete, omitting very aptly words alike in form and meaning in English. The printing is clear, the text seems free from typographical errors and several well-chosen illustrations add to the interest of the edition.

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LUCIANO ZÜCCOLI AND MARCO PRAGA

WITH regret must we note that with the passing of Luciano Züccoli (pseudonym of Count d'Ingluheim) and Marco Praga, Italy lost in the former a favorite novelist and in the latter a dramatist and critic of the first order. Züccoli, who enjoyed in his lifetime universal renown, was especially familiar to the English public through his novel, *Things Greater Than He*. Züccoli attained fame and success in Italian letters for having created a genre suited to his own northern Italian aristocracy, namely the urban novel with its love theme and its psychological studies on women and children. In his lifetime he devoted a good many years to journalism, engaging frequently in lively political debates. He founded and edited the daily *La Provincia di Modena* (1898-1900) and from 1903-1912 edited *La Gazzetta di Venezia* and *La Gazzetta*. His best works are considered to be: *La freccia nel fianco* (1913), *L'occhio del fanciullo* (1914), and *Le cose più grandi di lui* (1922) translated into English, *Things Greater Than He* (New York).

Züccoli was born in Milan in 1870 and died in Paris last year on the 27th of November. Following is the bibliography of his other works:

I lussuriosi (1893); *La morte di Orfeo* (1894); *Il designato* (1895); *Roberta* (1896); *Il maleficio occulto* (1901); *Ufficiali, sottufficiali, caporali e soldati* (1902); *La compagnia della leggera* (1905); *La vita ironica* (1906); *L'amore di Loredana* (1908); *Farfui* (1909); *Donne e fanciulli* (1910); *Romansi brevi* (1911); *Primavera* (1912); *La volpe di Sparta* (1915); *Baruffa* (1917); *L'amore non c'è più* (1918); *La divina fanciulla* (1919); *I Drusba* (1921); *Per la sua bocca*; *Fortunato in amore*; *Mirabella, storia di una tigre*; *Kif Tebbi*; *Il peccato e le tentazioni* (1926); *Lo scandalo delle Baccanti* (1929).

Marco Praga, who died in January 1929, was the son of Emilio Praga, the poet, from whom he inherited undoubtedly his great passion for literature. He started life as a clerk, but turned to the theatre while still a young man in his teens. After several repulses in the way of failures he succeeded in getting recognition with his play *L'amico* (1886). Though Praga did not enjoy universal fame commensurate with his position in the Italian theatre, he was nevertheless considered one of the leaders in dramatic criticism. For years he was dramatic critic for the *Illustrazione*. Espe-

cially famous has been his theatrical year-book, *Cronache teatrali* (1919-28, 10 vols., Milan), a hand-book of critical reviews on plays of the year, much consulted by professionals and non-professionals. Herewith is the bibliography of his principal contributions not mentioned above:

(Drama): *Le due case; Giuliana; L'incanto; Mater dolorosa; Le vergini; La moglie ideale; Innamorata; Alleluja; L'eredità; La mamma; Il bell' Apollo; Il dubbio; La morale della favola; L'ondina; La crisi; La porta chiusa; Un divorzio*; (Prose): *La biondina* (novel); *Anime a nudo* (letters); *Storie di palcoscenico*.

ITALIAN LITERATURE IN 1929

THE 1929 season in Italy continued the discussions on the theatrical crisis, while the discussions on the technique of prose creations burst out into renewed vigor with Giovanni Papini's article *Di questa letteratura* (*Concerning Our Literature*), which appeared in the first issue of the new literary magazine, *Pègaso*.

The theatrical crisis centering on the cinema versus legitimate drama, foreign drama versus native drama, was fruitful of many suggestions by dramatists, actors, and critics as to the *modus operandi* in the Italian theatre of the future. The *Giornale dell'arte* took up in detail the pros and cons as to the difficulties of the stock companies to interest the public with exclusive repertoires of native dramas. Apparently the actors and dramatists are not viewing the situation with despair in view of the fact that if the crisis existed in Italy, it existed also to a marked degree in many other countries. The discussions, if nothing else, brought the Italian dramatists vis-a-vis with the fact that the "psychology of the theatre crowd" had to be taken more and more into consideration. The result has been that many of the authors have noticeably digressed from their usual theme and technique. (See below discussions on *Lazarus* of Pirandello and Chiarelli's *K. 41*.)

The literary weekly *Fiera letteraria* (now *Italia letteraria*) discussed fully the current polemic on prose creation as to whether narrative art of the future was to base its creations on foundations of literary tradition and history, or else was it to find its medium in introspection and high-powered "cerebration" with the view of demolishing the "stilled" and "abortive" methods of past schools. The discussions started in 1928, and, otherwise exhausted, found new impetus with Papini's article, *This Literature of Ours* (*Pègaso*, No. 1), in which he advises the young authors and draws this general deduction with regard to the Italian man of letters:

"One of the deepest characteristics of our race, especially in the more representative types, is a highly developed sense of individuality. Italy is a country of lonely souls and dictators, and not of men who are standardized. Personalist as he is, as a rule, the Italian can do many things: he can express his own sentiments, dreams, yearns for the past, but looks rather to his political causes and external features than at the psychology of their protagonists. Or, finally, he can ridicule people and correct them, or define himself (satire, controversy). But he can never, or at least he can but badly produce creatures of the imagination who talk and act like living people. He will never, in short, succeed with the theatre and the novel, in the sense of producing a Shakespeare, a Molière, a Calderon, a Schiller, an Ibsen."

Papini goes on to say that French influence on Italian literature has been especially harmful in that the two literatures are diametrically opposed to each other: "the Italian will never attain French wit and lightness of touch. The Italian is a serious, heavy literature. It will always be more educative than amusing" (see this discussion in *Books, Herald-Tribune*, Jan. 20). With this crushing accusation Papini has far from convinced Italian intellectuals, even though he has made them think.

All summed up, it seems that Papini is too hard on his Italian colleagues and his literature; he has had to sustain, in return for his statements, many a just invective and many a tirade (see *Fiera letteraria*, issues of January and February).

In this connection we might say that another important event of the past literary season in Italy was the publication of a new magazine devoted to arts and letters, *Pegaso* (Florence), edited by Ugo Ojetti (see *Books, Herald-Tribune*, Jan. 20). It appears that *Pegasus* started with material of a polemical nature, launching an attack against the domination of criticism over literary production (spirit of Croce). *Pegasus* should prove to be a magazine for the intellectuals. It will, let us hope, reflect much of the eclectic personality of its founder, Ojetti, preëminent as a writer and as a critic of arts and letters. Fortunately, too, it appears that it will draw its contributions from Italy's greatest authors.

Another notable event of the year was the official inauguration of the Royal Italian Academy, a national institution destined to function as arbiter in literary matters and in general to enhance the arts and sciences. Pirandello, Panzini, and Marinetti, the futurist, were among the notables inducted into the Academy.

FICTION.—The public favored the younger writers this past year, notwithstanding the usual amount of interest shown the older and more renowned. Comisso, Cinelli, Moravia, Campanile, all in their twenties, or at most slightly over their thirties, contributed novels and prize novels of varied and sweeping subjects. First in order we have *Gli indifferenti* (*The Indifferent*, Milan), the most successful as well as the most commented novel of the year, by the twenty-two-year-old Alberto Moravia. In a plot of three days' duration the author has contributed four masterful characterizations in a group that makes up a family of the upper Roman bourgeoisie: a mother conscious of nothing except the gratification of her middle-aged sensuality; a daughter who, merely for a change of life, hurls herself into deliberate relations with her mother's lover, without ability or inclination to analyze her act; a son, desiring aimlessly to be strong, superior, and motivated by what conventionality would require of persons under difficult circumstances, collapses miserably for all the idealism and morality he affects; then, the lover, representative of a class of "methodic libertines," contributes to the general delinquency and weakness of the family. All four characters are *indifferent* to any sense of goodness or justice, and the novel, though appearing to be strictly immoral, suggests a strong necessity for morality if the status of our modern social system is not to suffer impairment or decomposition. Though most critics were favorable to the novel, opinions differed as to the ultimate evaluation of the work. Several scathing accusations were launched against the young writer for his use of an "old technique" in order to arouse interest in the portrayal of several lewd scenes with shocking realism. The book has withstood its adverse criticism. Adriano Tilgher, one of the ablest and keenest of Italian critics, proclaims the youthful Moravia as the "new novelist" and his creation the "new novel" on the Italian literary horizon.

The Mondadori Academy prize went to Delfino Cinelli for his *Castiglion che Dio sol sa* (Milan), a novel bringing to mind Edna Ferber's charming *So Big!* This last creation of Cinelli has a bucolic background in which mother earth plays the principal part. Here is the gist of a critical judgment passed on the book (see *Italia che scrive*, April): "There is in this novel a sentiment for the soil altogether primitive, . . . a soil against which men seem to be helpless creatures destined to play secondary roles,—slaves all attached to it by chains of hatred and love, of work and hope." In short, the novel portrays man in his attempt to master the soil, but, for

all he can do, he emerges from the unequal struggle crushed by his insignificance. This novel, with exception made to several lengthy and tiring episodes, rises to beauty by virtue of its note of sincerity and simplicity. Giovanni Comisso received the Bagutta prize for his novel, *Gente di mare* (*Sea-Faring People*, Milan), containing no specific plot other than a sequel of sketches in sea voyages of two brothers along the Adriatic shores. As a rest from the intellectual novel *à thèse* this book should meet much favor, especially for its colorful picturizations: strong hearts battling heavy seas, quaint Dalmatian ports, exotic Croatians, contraband, and dashing episodes. *Giovanotti non esageriamol e sia detto anche alle ragazze* (*Young Men, No Exaggeration!* And *This Goes for the Ladies Too*, Milan) of Achille Campanile was selected as one of the best novels of the year for competition in the Thirty Publishers' prize. Not coming under any category or technique of novel-writing, the book is essentially one of humor, containing a series of topsy-turvy adventures of two friends who fall frequently into screamingly funny situations. Barring several coarse and objectionable episodes, the book is refreshing for its genuine fun mixed with subtle satire on some stupid conventionalities of our social order. It is a pleasure to note that Bianca de Mai, who won a prize in 1928 for her novel, *Pay the Penalty in Silence*, had a worthy successor in the authoress Gabriella Neri, whose novel, *Diana e il Fauno* (Florence), though not receiving a prize, was up for consideration and adjudged one of the best of the year. It deals with the difficulties facing the woman of today who aspires for intellectual freedom. The author has succeeded, in spite of a slightly overworked sex theme, in contributing lucid pages on the psychology of the young woman of today.

In contrast with the above-mentioned youthful authors we have Massimo Bontempelli of the older generation, who gained the 1929 Thirty Publishers' prize for his *Il figlio di due madri* (*A Son of Two Mothers*, Rome), pronounced by the committee as the best novel of the year. Bontempelli abandoned somewhat his technique of satire, enigma, and fantasy and contributed in this novel a serious study on maternal love, which his art has set up for universal admiration. The plot revolves about two mothers claiming the same son. The prose is couched in the usual bizarre style characteristic of Bontempelli.

And now looking obliquely over the field of novel production we have, first of all, Luciano Zùccoli's ante-mortem novel, *Lo scandolo delle Baccante* (Milan), dealing with a plot laid in ancient Rome. His description of the Dionysian Festivals in the forest Stimula are of particular interest by way of historical information. Riccardo Bacchelli contributed a strange novel in *La città degli amanti* (*The Lovers' City*, Milan). This novel, too, was put up for consideration for the Publishers' prize. Briefly, it is a story about a fabulously rich American who founds in Texas a colony on ultra-liberal principles. At bottom it is a satire of the morals of the Latins in contrast with those of the Puritans. For those who like reading about elite life and fashionable people there is Carlo Linati's *La principessa delle stelle* (Milan), written in brilliant style in contrast to a trivial plot. Margherita Sarfatti, known throughout the world for her biography of Benito Mussolini, *Dux*, published *Il Palazzone* (Milan), describing the activities of a noble Italian family in the last fifteen years. The plot, spun on love, tragedy, war, contains a historical survey of pre- and post-Fascist Italy. Speaking of historical novels one cannot omit the two volumes of *La terza Roma* of the historian Guglielmo Ferrero, to which he is to add a third volume. This novel is available in an English translation, *The Seven Vices* (New York). The famous historian has used the medium of the novel to express his historico-political ideas. And

lastly we have two war novels, *La guerra è bella ma scomoda* (*War Is Beautiful But Uncomfortable*) and *Le scarpe al sole* (Milan). Both are humorous, detached from the element of tragedy, and profusely illustrated in pen and ink sketches. For studies on the foregoing authors see Camillo Pellizzi's *Le lettere italiane del nostro secolo*, discussed below.

The output of short stories outweighed that of the novel in quantity and perhaps in quality. Chiesa, Deledda, Borgese, Perri, Milanese, Brocchi, Negri are among the names that head the list. Chiesa, who won the 1928 Mondadori Academy prize for his novel *Villadorna*, presented last season a volume, *Stories from My Garden* (*Racconti del mio orto*, Milan), a series of twenty-seven sketches in which there is a reflection of much of the author's good-nature portrayed in the protagonist, a fifty-year-old retired clerk, who cultivates his garden and bears with stoicism the domineering attitude of his daughter. Grazia Deledda published a collection of stories for children, *Neli'assurro* (Milan). They are stories written in Deledda's youth; though meant for children, they found many a reader among the grown-ups. Francesco Perri, aside from his collection of *Calabrese Sketches*, contributed *Una notte d'amore* (Milan), twenty-six short stories written in the regional vein—romantic tales with a thin spread of sentimentality and realism. With the exception of a few stories smacking of hackneyed themes, the book as a whole offers characterizations of excellent types. Guido Milanese, whose prose is, as a rule, so delicately worked out that it reads like poetry, gave two volumes, *Asterie* (revised and augmented from a previous edition) and *Fiamme di Ara* (Milan), stories of war, of marine officers, and patriotic episodes extolling Italy and Fascism. Virgilio Brocchi digressed from the novel of the "eternal triangle" and wrote *La giostra delle illusioni* (*Trickery of Illusions*, Milan), seven stories of which four are devoted to optimism (*Le Serene*) and three to pessimism bordering on tragedy (*Le Torbide*). The latter deal with the story of a disconsolate man who is betrayed by his wife and his best friend. Ada Negri's contribution *Sorelle* (*Sisters*, Milan) might be called episodes of her own life, reflective of the personality of the author who, through patience and suffering, rose to dignity. The paradoxical Rosso di San Secondo contributed some enigmatic and diabolical tales with a setting in Berlin, *C'era il diavolo, o non c'era?* (*Was the Devil There or Not?*, Milan). And last but not least we have Giuseppe Borgese, who added to the richness of the short story output with his *Il sole non è tramontato* (*The Sun Has Not Yet Set*, Milan), a series of impressionistic sketches couched in a laconic style and intense colors.

THEATRE.—The difficulties in theatrical production continued last year in Italy, and the season saw several famous stock companies (Niccodemi, etc.) dissolve. One redeeming feature, however, came about with the organization sponsored by Fascismo and directed by Giovacchino Forzano of the "Carro di Tespi," composed of an auto-bus for the "strolling players" and a trailer for equipment and scenery. This "Thespian Car" is destined to travel throughout Italy, with the especial purpose of presenting good plays in the rural towns.

It could be said that no outstanding play arose on the theatrical horizon. At best the season was enlivened by plays of authors of distinction, such as Pirandello, Corradini, Bontempelli, Benelli, etc. Pirandello's *Liola* (Florence) was revived and met success, together with *Lazarus*, the new play of the author, first played in Berlin and Huddersfield, England. *Lazarus* is a slight deviation from his "real and unreal" type of play—it is the story of a man who comes back to life to tell us that there is no after life. Luigi Chiarelli, too, has in *K. 41* a somewhat different sort of play

from his usual "grotesques." It is a submarine drama dedicated to Italian sailors. Luigi Antonelli met success with his caricature *Darei la mia vita* (*I'd Give My Life*; see *Comoedia*, Dec., 1929, for first printing of the play). Sabatino Lopez's *La signora Rosa* continued to be a "hit" in all the towns played in Italy. It is a drama spun on the frailties of reality, heart-beats, and intricate emotions. Enrico Corradini, playwright and ultra-nationalist, saw two successful revivals in his *L'apologo delle due sorelle*, a drama suggesting a fairy atmosphere in a sketch on the morality of two sisters; in his *Carlotta Corday* we have, as the title suggests, a play revolving about Marat and the French Revolution. Delfino Cinelli dramatized successfully his novel *La trappola* (*The Trap*), a play with a rustic background in which the principals are two provincials and a city girl. Massimo Bontempelli apparently is making a specialty these days of mother love and child theme; he contributed as his play of the year *La guardia alla luna*. And now, by way of mention, we note that the distinguished actor Ruggiero Ruggeri played in a number of stock dramas, among which was the *drame à thèse*, *La nouvelle idole* of Curel. Plays of Dario Niccodemi, Luigi Antonelli, Guglielmo Zorzi were especially successful in Paris last season. Among leading foreign dramatists whose plays were represented in Italy last year we have Sarment, Bourdet, Valentine, Birabeau, Ibsen, Chekov. For studies on the drama see paragraph below on CRITICA.

POETRY.—Though the season was fruitful of several volumes of beautiful poetry, we note that it has not flourished in particular. All summed up it was a slack year. Ettore Cozzani's *Il poema del mare* (Milan), poetry in the *mare nostrum* theme, shows total lack of introspective or personal matter; it is purely descriptive. *Poesie* of Sibilla Aleramo, attractively published by Mondadori of Milan, in contrast to the above-mentioned poem, is altogether personal; it is in fact reflections of a woman susceptible to love, to beauty, to varied emotions. Umberto Saba, a Triestian, contributed refreshing and sonorous poems in *Preludio e Fughe* (Trieste). Titta Rosa's *Le feste delle stagioni* (Milan), impressions of the seasons, is also readable poetry. In *Il piccolo Orfeo*, Angelo Silvio Novaro has detached his poetry from any element of complexity and succeeded in imparting to it a note of serenity. For humorous poetry we have Trilussa's *Libro No. 9* (Milan), poems in the Roman dialect; his realistic patter is especially provocative of laughter. For a study on the poets see books of Pellizzi and Mignosi mentioned in chapter below.

CRITICA—VARIA.—Because of the enormity of material in criticism published last season we shall have to limit ourselves to a brief survey, with mention only of the most significant studies. First of all, we have Camillo Pellizzi's *Le lettere italiane del nostro secolo* (Milan), a survey of contemporary Italian literature commendable for many pages of lucid evaluations and especially helpful for its exhaustive bibliographical notes on the various authors. The usefulness of the text outweighs by far its bulkiness and some loose arrangement of subject matter. Giovanni Papini contributed two books in religious motif, *Gli operai della vigna* (Florence) with chapters on Petrarch, Michel Angelo, St. Francis of Assisi, Jacopone da Todi, etc., and *St. Augustine*, a timely commemoration for the fifteenth centenary of the great African. In this beautiful study of the life of the saint, Papini expresses his views, and for those who might believe his conversion insincere he unleashes some biting remarks in self-justification. Among the studies made on Dante we had last season Francesco Ercole's two volumes on Dante's political ideas, *Il pensiero politico di Dante* (Milan). Karl Vossler's study on Dante was translated into English by W. C. Lawton, with the title of *Dante as a Contemporary* (New York). Professor Melville Best Anderson

spent twenty-three years in Italy in translating Dante's *Divine Comedy* in English terza rima. It has been prepared in a special edition of four volumes (the first an essay on Dante) in white vellum by Nash Printers (San Francisco). Humanism and the Cinquecento were studied in two separate volumes by Giuseppe Toffanin, *Il Cinquecento* (Milan) and *Che cosa fu l'Umanesimo?* (Florence). The editors "Alpes" of Milan undertook not long ago the task of getting out the biographies of the great personalities of Italy in the series *Italia gente delle molte vite*, illustrated. Last year more than a half dozen were completed. It is interesting to note that, among others, biographies of Dante, Leopardi, Mazzini, Savonarola, Columbus, Monti, Alfieri, Parinari are available in the series.

In *Il tramonto del grande attore* (Milan), Silvio D'Amico, the dramatic critic, made a study of all the great actors of the last generation, who are rapidly disappearing. He deplores the fact that the great actors of the Europe of yesterday have apparently no successors. Anton Giuglio Bragaglia speaks on the problems of the theatre past and present in *Del teatro teatrale ossia del teatro* (Rome). Pietro Mignosi compiled a book on *La poesia di questo secolo* (Palermo), a rather complete list of poets, together with telegraphic criticisms and complete bibliographies. Lucio D'Ambra published the third volume of his *Thirty Years of Literary Life, Il ritorno a fil d'acqua* (Milan), a series of intimate sketches on literary men of Italy and of Europe. Withal, it contains much entertaining information and ideas. In *Homo Faber* (Rome), Adriano Tilgher made an historical study of *work* from ancient to present time, and defined it as to the attitude of Greeks, Hebrews, Romans, Christians, Fascists, Soviets, etc. For a sweeping survey of Italian culture in the past quarter of a century Giuseppe Prezzolini's *La cultura italiana* is especially recommendable for its vast information on literary, social, religious, and other topics in general. We note that this revised and augmented edition was published by Corbaccio of Milan.

Two volumes of contemporary history appeared last season and are now available in English translation, Croce's *A History of Italy, 1871-1915* (New York), which gives liberal treatment as regards the political views, and Luigi Villari's *Italy* (New York), which starts from 1915, where Croce left off, and interprets Fascism favorably in terms of nationalism. There is available in English also *Italian Painting* (Toronto), interpreting the big movements in art. The authors, P. G. Konody and R. H. Wilenski, in addition to colored illustrations, have added black and white reproductions. Lastly, mention should be made of the *Enciclopedia italiana*, published under the auspices of the Istituto Treccani. The work is admirably gotten up with roto-gravures and colored plates. The editorship is under the direction of Giovanni Gentile and Tumminelli. The encyclopaedia, by virtue of its organization and quality of its contributors and contributions (see frontispiece, Vol. I), promises to be one of the best. It will be completed by 1937, appearing at the rate of one volume quarterly in handsome red morocco binding.

O. A. BONTEMPO

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

FACULTY NOTES

COLGATE UNIVERSITY, HAMILTON, N. Y. Mr. L. C. Keating, who resigned in order to continue his studies for the Ph.D. degree at Harvard University, has been replaced by Mr. G. S. DeLand, a former instructor at Brown University. Mr. Wm. J. Everts has been promoted from the rank of Instructor to that of Assistant Professor.

COLLEGE OF THE PACIFIC, STOCKTON, CALIF. A Spanish School was organized

last summer with Prof. Alarcón as Director. A Sorority House was secured and the students lived in the house and had their classes there. Great interest was aroused in spoken Spanish and in the study of Spanish Literature. The school was considered a great success and may become a permanent part of the summer session at this College. Pi Gamma Sigma, a new Honorary Language Fraternity, has started its work for the year. The French students are interesting themselves in a study of *Romanticism*. Each student who has been invited to become a member is expected to read a scholarly paper during the year. A Summer School in Europe was organized three years ago. The tour, which includes seven European countries, will this year be under the direction of Pres. Tully C. Knoles of this College.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK. Professors J. L. Gerig and H. F. Muller will teach Celtic and Vulgar Latin respectively in the coming Summer Session of the Linguistic Institute to be held by the Linguistic Society at the College of the City of New York. Prof. Gerig was elected to the Advisory Council of the India Society of America and presided at their annual dinner at Town Hall on Dec. 7, 1929, at which the speakers were H. A. Jules-Bois, Upton Close, Theodore Dreiser, Willy Pogany, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, etc. He was also re-elected Trustee of the American Iona Society and President of the Italian Historical Society of America. Prof. A. G. H. Spiers was on sabbatical leave the first semester, which he spent in France. Visiting professors in the coming Summer Session will be Bagley and Saurat for French, DeNegri for Italian and Camino for Spanish. New appointments in Barnard College are S. M. Delson, Isabelle W. Mague, instructors in French; Amelia Del Río, Spanish; and Teresa Carbonara, Italian.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, HANOVER, N. H. Prof. E. R. Greene has returned from a sabbatical year in Spain. While there he purchased for the College Library a collection of representative Spanish plays comprising more than ten thousand bound volumes. This large and valuable acquisition now makes the Dartmouth Library particularly rich in this branch of Spanish literature. Truly this acquisition would gladden the heart of George Ticknor were he alive to-day to revisit his Alma Mater! Prof. P. O. Skinner spent the summer traveling in Spain. Prof. H. E. Washburn has returned from a sabbatical year spent in study in Paris. Professors J. M. Arce and H. F. Dunham taught in the Summer Session at Columbia University. Mr. E. Leith and Mr. C. V. Brooke spent the summer in France. M. Xavier Morfin, visiting French professor during the past year, has returned to his duties at the Lycée de Roanne (Loire). His successor at Dartmouth is M. François Denoeu of the Lycée de Saint-Quentin (Aisne). Prof. Léon Verriest is spending his sabbatical year at his former home in Louvain, Belgium. Prof. Claude Roulé is faculty adviser of the Cercle Français this year and is directing its dramatic productions.

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C. Dean H. Grattan Doyle, who has been advisor to men's organizations at the University since 1926, and Dean of Men since 1927, has been appointed Dean of the Lower Division in Columbian College. This new arrangement went into effect with the opening of the academic year on Sept. 25, 1929. Dean Doyle has been a member of the faculty of the George Washington University since 1916 and Professor of Romance Languages since 1921.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE, HAVERFORD, PA. During the sabbatical leave of James McF. Carpenter, Jr., Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Mr. A. J. Williamson (A.M., Princeton) has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages. Pres. W. W. Comfort gave two lecture courses on French Literature at the last summer session of the University of California.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY, NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J. Mr. Angel Flores, Instructor in Spanish, has resigned to assume the editorship of the new modernistic periodical, *Alhambra*, published at New York. Mr. Herbert H. Eddy, Instructor in French, has accepted a position in Blair Academy. Two resignations have taken place at the New Jersey College for Women: Prof. W. Cook Zellars, Asst. Professor of Spanish, to be head of the Romance Department of the University of New Mexico; and Dr. Mary A. Noble, Instructor in Spanish, for study and travel. Prof. J. Moreno-Lacalle, formerly of Middlebury College, instead of being Visiting Professor of Spanish, is now Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature, directing the work in Spanish at the New Jersey College for Women and conducting extension classes. Under his direction a Spanish House is now in operation at the woman's college. During the past summer he continued his duties at the Middlebury Summer School as Dean of the Spanish School. Mr. Charles H. Stevens has been advanced to Assistant Professor of Spanish. Prof. Frank B. Mitchell has been appointed Assistant Professor of French. Mr. Lewis A. Ondis is Instructor in Romance Languages. At the woman's college Mr. Manuel Salas, formerly connected with Culver Academy, has been made Assistant Professor of Spanish. Miss Concha Francés, Licenciada en Filosofía y Letras of the University of Barcelona, is Instructor in Spanish. Mr. William Oncken, who has been at Princeton University, is Assistant Professor of Italian. The French staff at the woman's college is directed by Prof. Alice Williamson de Visme. Miss Louise H. J. Dulieu, Instructor in French, has returned to France. Miss Elisabeth Boussus has been added to the staff as Instructor in French.

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, N. Y. Prof. John P. Rice is absent on leave as George Westinghouse Visiting Professor to Italy for 1929-30 under appointment by the Italy America Society. During his absence Prof. R. E. L. Kittredge, formerly of the University of Toronto, is acting head of the Department. The University recently received a legacy of \$125,000 for the creation of a chair in French literature.

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE, NEWARK. Dr. D. O. Evans has resigned as Head of the Department in order to accept a professorship at the University of British Columbia. Associate Prof. E. C. Byam has been appointed as Acting Chairman of the Department for the current year. Miss Myrtle Volkhardt has been added to the staff of instructors at the Women's College of this University.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, ALBUQUERQUE. Prof. E. Allison Peers of the University of Liverpool, who is Visiting Professor of Modern Comparative Literature at Columbia University during the present year, will be Visiting Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature at the Summer Session of this University during the first three weeks of its Summer Session. Miss Anita Osuna, Asst. Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature, has been awarded a fellowship by this University to do research work during the Spring of 1930 in the University of Madrid, and during the Summer Session of 1930 in the University of Grenoble.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL. Dr. E. K. Kane, formerly Associate Professor of Spanish, has resigned to become Head of the Department of Romance Languages at the University of Tennessee. His place has been filled by Ralph S. Boggs, newly appointed Assistant Professor of Spanish. Prof. S. E. Leavitt devoted the fall and winter quarters in research in Madrid. Prof. U. T. Holmes has returned after teaching during the past Spring Quarter at the University of Chicago. Associate Prof. H. R. Huse is absent on leave during the winter and spring semesters. Associate Prof. N. B. Adams spent part of the past summer at Simancas and Madrid. Dr. G. Ward Fenley, formerly Instructor in French, has been promoted Assistant

Professor and spent the summer and autumn pursuing research in Paris. Asst. Prof. J. Coriden Lyons, and Mr. M. I. Barker, Mr. John Carroll, Mr. R. W. Linker, and Mr. John Downs, Instructors, spent the summer in France. Mr. W. C. Salley, Instructor in Spanish, taught during the summer at the University of Alabama. Mr. D. R. McKee and Mr. M. L. Radoff, Instructors in French, have resigned. Newly appointed instructors and assistants are: Mr. W. M. McLead, Mr. A. C. Jennings, Mr. A. St. C. Sloan, and Mr. J. A. Thompson.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, EUGENE. Louis M. Myers, who received his M.A. degree at Columbia University last year, has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages at this University. Chandler B. Beall, formerly associated with George Washington University, has been appointed as Assistant Professor of Romance Languages.

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE. The Department of Romance Languages is at present composed of the following members: Elisha K. Kane, Chairman; F. F. Frantz, Professor of French; A. M. Withers, Professor of Spanish; E. H. F. West, Instructor of Spanish; E. F. Bradley, Instructor of French and Spanish; F. O. Adam, Instructor of Spanish; S. Buck, Instructor of French; and L. W. Ryan, Instructor of French and Spanish.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, BURLINGTON. A. B. Myrick, Professor of Romance Languages, in collaboration with N. E. Griffin, translated in prose *Il Filostrato* of Giovanni Boccaccio. This work contains an Introduction by Professor Griffin and was published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in September, 1929.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON. The following changes have taken place in this Department: Miss Marguerite Andrade has resigned to become Instructor in French at DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind.; Miss Augusta Boschini has accepted a position as Instructor in Italian in Hunter College, New York; Miss Irene Cornwell has become Asst. Professor of French at George Washington University, Washington; Mr. Oliver Hauptmann has received an appointment as Instructor in Spanish in the University of Florida, Gainesville; Mr. J. Homer Herriott has been assigned a position as Instructor in Spanish in Princeton University; Mr. Georges Lemaitre has left in order to become Assistant Professor of French in McGill University, Montreal, Canada; Miss Ruth Garwood has accepted a post as Instructor in Spanish in Texas Woman's College, Ft. Worth, Texas. Mr. Raphael Levy is abroad as a Guggenheim Fellow, investigating the field of Hebrew-Old French Relations. Mr. William J. Gaines is on a leave of absence for the year; Mr. A. G. Solalinde was absent on leave for the first semester. Mr. Hugh A. Smith, Director of the American University Union in Paris, is absent on leave for the year. Mr. C. D. Zdanowicz and Mr. R. F. Bradley have returned from leaves of absence. Among the new members of the department are: Mr. Wm. R. Kingery, formerly of Cornell University, as Instructor in Spanish; Mr. De Vaux de Lancey, previously of the University of Vermont, as Lecturer in French; and Mr. J. Rossi as assistant in Italian.

UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING, LARAMIE. Dr. Maximilian Rudwin, who was Head of the Department of Modern Languages for the past few years at Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas, has accepted a similar position in this institution. Miss Mary Perkinson, A.B. and A.M. of the University of Oklahoma, has been appointed Instructor in Modern Languages. Miss E. Crete Wood, who spent last year in study abroad, has returned as Instructor in Modern Languages.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENN. Dr. C. B. Brown (A.B., Wes-

leyan; Ph.D., Chicago) has been assigned to take charge of the work in Italian in this University. He was formerly connected with Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

WABASH COLLEGE, CRAWFORDSVILLE, IND. Clarence E. Leavenworth, professor of Romance languages and chairman of the foreign language division, received his Ph.D. degree at the University of Chicago. His dissertation was *Repetition and Recurrence in Molière*.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, SAINT LOUIS, MO. George B. Marsh, who received his Ph.D. at the University of California, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Spanish and Italian. Sherman Eoff, a Ph.D. of the University of Chicago, has accepted a position as Assistant Professor of Spanish and Italian.

WHEATON COLLEGE, NORTON, MASS. The Department of Romance Languages consists of the following: Agnes R. Riddell, Ph.D., Professor of Romance Languages, head of the department; Marguerite Métivier, A.M., Associate Professor of French; Marie-Rose Buchler, A.M., Instructor in French; Anne Harrington, A.M., Assistant Professor of Spanish; Helen R. Parker, A.M., Instructor in French and Spanish, and E. Dorothy Littlefield, A.M., Instructor in French. Miss Buchler, Miss Parker and Miss Littlefield obtained the A.M. degree last June or during the summer. Miss Parker acts as head of "la maison blanche," the French house at this College. During the summer, Miss Buchler and Miss Littlefield taught at Middlebury College.

YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN, CONN. Prof. Frederick B. Luquiens was on leave of absence in Spain during the year 1928-29. He returned to the University and has been appointed Chairman of the Department of Spanish and Italian. Prof. Joseph Seronde has been appointed Chairman of the Department of French. Prof. Albert Feuillerat, formerly of the University of Rennes, has been appointed Director of Graduate Studies in French. Recent appointments as instructors include A. E. A. Naughton, French; R. F. McNerny, Spanish; and L. E. Monge, Spanish.

CAROLINE MATULKA

NEW YORK CITY

OBITUARY

RAYMOND FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC (1864-1929)

The death of Raymond Foulché-Delbosc has left a gap in the ranks of Hispanic scholars which will not readily be filled. He was easily the most outstanding among those who investigated Franco-Spanish literary relations, and he brought into that complex field all his experience as a scholar of wide interests. He was not merely a limited specialist studying obstinately a few details of some more or less important question, but a man who had the mental power to embrace the whole field and to perceive the inter-relation of each part of his work. Among his other achievements, his *Bibliographie hispano-française* and his *Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et au Portugal* remain as monuments to his exhaustive and patient labors in Comparative Literature. His interests in the wider fields did not in the least diminish the value of his exhaustive work in more precise and limited aspects of these fields. In fact, it is because he occupied a point of vantage from which he could judge the relative importance of the specialized studies he undertook, that his labors as a specialist have been important and durable. His *Manuel de l'Hispanisant* and his *Bibliographie hispanique* remain fundamental to anyone who wants to undertake research in specific Spanish fields. After finishing his studies in Arabic and Oriental languages he pub-

lished more than thirty rare or unknown Spanish texts, some of which are of primary importance, and he translated three or four Spanish works. In the field of Folk-lore, he published *Proverbes judéo-espagnols*. Besides many reviews and critical studies he wrote a Catalan and a Spanish grammar. But, as much as to all these works, which, for lack of space we cannot here enumerate, his name will remain attached to the *Revue Hispanique*, which he founded and of which for thirty-five years he was the sole editor. Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Archer M. Huntington, he was enabled to devote almost his entire existence to his outstanding work as a scholar and a critic. The *Revue Hispanique* disappears with him.

We shall remember Raymond Foulché-Delbosc as a scholar by vocation, of wide information and varied activities, dominated by an exclusive devotion to the work which he had undertaken and which he pursued notwithstanding his illness to his very last breath. He did not attain recognition of a purely academic nature and received no honors and no decorations, except for being a directing member of the *Hispanic Society* and a corresponding member of the *Real Academia Sevillana*. His real monument will be his work.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK

VARIA

EDUCATIONAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC.—Columbia University created recently the chair of Daponte Professor of Italian Literature to which Professor Dino Bigongiarì was named as the first occupant. This event, together with the appearance of two new translations into English of Daponte's *Memoirs*, one by Arthur Livingston and Eliz. Abbott and the other by L. A. Sheppard, have aroused widespread interest in the librettist of Mozart, as is revealed by the long article on him by Walter Littlefield in the *New York Times* of Nov. 24, 1929.—In regard to Canadian French *Cuer le feu* (cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XX, 1929, 265-266) Rev. J. A. U. Rivard of St. Joseph's College, Calif., writes that, in his locality (Eastern Quebec), the change of *t* to *k* before *e* is not unusual, viz., *quiens, la quienne, morquier, tourquière, quède, quiers*, etc. Before *u*, however, the tendency is rather the converse, i.e., *k* becoming *t*; thus *tuillère* for *cuillère*. The voiced dental *d*, like the voiceless *t*, shows a similar tendency to change to its corresponding guttural *g* before *a* and *e*; thus, *guiable* and *le Bon Guieu* for *diable* and *le Bon Dieu*. Rev. Rivard also calls attention to Armand Yon's *Au Diable Vert* (Paris, 1928) in which may be found many a "Canadianism."—On Dec. 9, 1929, Gov. Theodore Roosevelt of Porto Rico appointed as Commissioner of Education of the island Dr. José Padín, of New York, a former assistant commissioner of education and now a member of the publishing firm of D. C. Heath & Co. Dr. Padín was the commencement speaker at the University of Porto Rico last spring, and at that time urged the complete liberation of the university from political influence.—The American Council of Learned Societies announced recently a series of grants in Aid of Research and Research Fellowships in the Humanities, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. The Grants are of two kinds: Small Grants (\$300-\$500), designed to encourage research by scholars who are trained in scientific methods of investigation; and Larger Grants (\$750-\$2,000), reserved for mature scholars of demonstrated ability in constructive research, who should be able to devote six months of uninterrupted work to their investigations. The Research Fellowships

(\$1,800 each) are awarded to American citizens of not more than 35 years of age. For further information address the Permanent Secretary of the Council, 907 15th Street, Washington, D. C.—The International Conference of Experts on General Linguistic Bibliography requests that the following desiderata be communicated to scholars in Romance linguistics or philology: 1) With a view to facilitating the work of bibliography, it is desirable that authors of linguistic studies or articles should append to their publications brief summaries of their contents and conclusions. 2) In order to prevent omission of important critical notices from bibliographies, it is desirable that such notices should take the form of articles with a special title.—Dean H. E. Hawkes announced, on January 13, 1930, the following changes in the modern language requirements for the A.B. degree at Columbia College. Three years of college French or German; two years of the equivalent of either college French or German combined with one year of college Greek or Latin, or two years of either college French or German combined with two years of college study of any other language. Under the new regulations, French and German will be on a parity, according to the *New York Times*, and Italian and Spanish will likewise be on a parity, below that of the two former languages. Hitherto Spanish has been on a parity with French. Dean Hawkes explained, adds the *Times*, "that this readjustment was considered justified in view of the greater cultural contribution of France and Germany, compared to that of other nations. Spanish will remain on a parity with French in the School of Business." Dean Hawkes expressed the belief that "one effect of the change will be to concentrate greater attention on French and German in the preparatory schools." The above changes in the curriculum conform in general to those announced last summer by Princeton University (cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XX, 1929, p. 304).—Ambassador Claudel formally opened, on Nov. 20, the Salle Lafayette in the Romance Pavilion at the University of Virginia, as a memorial to the friendship of Thomas Jefferson and the Marquis de Lafayette. The donor of the room is Mr. Ormond G. Smith.—The French Institute in the United States received from its President, Ormond G. Smith, on Nov. 20, 1929, a gift of the property at 24 East 60th St., New York, adjoining its present quarters. It is planned to erect thereon a fourteen-story building, from which the rents will create an endowment fund for the Institute. At the same time, adequate space will be provided for housing the art and library collections of the Institute as well as for reading rooms and lounges for the use of members.—Abbé Alphonse Lugan, the well-known French writer, announced on Nov. 17 that he was trying to revive, in Boissy-Saint-Léger, near Paris, the Port Royal des Champs made famous in the 17th century by Pascal, Racine and Arnaud. He intends to call it the Villa Oxanam-Gibbons, in memory of the great French social worker and the American cardinal. The Villa will be open to scholars of every nation and creed.—The Library of Congress received recently a gift from Judge A. K. Nippert of Cincinnati consisting of a fourteenth century vellum manuscript of the *Chirurgia Magna*, the famous thirteenth century work of Bruno of Longoburgo. Seymour de Ricci, the bibliographer, is now preparing for the Library a catalogue of its collections of classical and medieval manuscripts dating before 1500.—The Bibliothèque Nationale opened on Jan. 22 an exposition of books, works of art, etc., commemorating the centenary of the inauguration of Romanticism in France. Another centenary that will soon be celebrated is that of the conquest of Algiers, in July, 1930. Finally, the centenary of Lamarck's death is also being commemorated in a fitting manner.—The British Museum has now in press a catalogue of its collections of books, the preparation of which has taken ten years and cost \$1,000,000. As in the case of the Vatican Library

and the Bibliothèque Nationale, this new catalogue was undertaken to meet the American demand.—The Music Division of the New York Public Library recently received from its patrons gifts of 450 rare music manuscripts purchased at the Werner Wolfheim Library sales in June, 1928, and June, 1929. A full account of these and many other valuable recent acquisitions is contained in the *New York Times* of Jan. 5, 1930.—Irreparable loss was sustained by Canadian historians when a fire destroyed the 50,000-volume library of St. Joseph's Seminary at Three Rivers, Quebec, on Nov. 19, 1929. Many rare volumes dealing with the early history of French Canada as well as Franco-Canadian cultural relations disappeared in the holocaust.—Mrs. Alice Dickson has prepared a revised and supplementary list of "Suggestions for Teachers of French in Securing Realia," which is very useful to all those interested in things French. Mimeographed copies (35 cents each) may be obtained from Dean S. Freeman, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.—The Permanent Italian Book Exhibition, Inc., opened a branch exhibition of 4,000 volumes in the Philadelphia Free Library on Nov. 25. Ambassador de Martino delivered an address on the occasion.—The Republic of Santo Domingo announced recently the creation of a "Great Columbus Library," under the auspices of the Permanent Executive Committee of the Columbus Light-House. The plans for the library include the gathering of historical data on all the countries of North and South America, to be housed in a building of twenty-five or more sections.—Marcel Aubert, associate curator of the Louvre, and exchange professor at Harvard this year, stated in an address before the Museum of French Art in New York on Dec. 7, 1929, that he was "amazed by the museums and libraries and the wealth of French cultural associations" in the United States. He added that "there are certain branches of French art which are better represented" here than in France.

NECROLOGY—Professor D. Behrens, for many years editor of the *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*, died on December 20, 1929. He will be succeeded as editor by Prof. G. Rohlfs, of the University of Tübingen.—Professor George Edward Woodberry, who held the Chair of Comparative Literature at Columbia University from 1891 to 1904, died at Beverly, Mass., on Jan. 2, 1930, at the age of 74.—Emile Loubet, President of France from 1899 to 1906, died at Montelimar on Dec. 20, 1929, in his 91st year.—Eduardo Gomez Baquero, the Spanish writer, died in Madrid on Dec. 15, 1929, at an advanced age. He was widely known in Spanish-speaking countries under his pseudonym, "Andrenio."—Professor Charles P. Lebon, who taught for 35 years in the English High School of Boston, died at Brookline, Mass., at the age of 78. He was born at Tours, France, in the same room where Balzac was born.—Giovanni Riviello, founder of the newspapers *Giornale della Sera*, *Messogiorno* and *La Basilicata*, and of the review *Italiani per il Mondo*, died at Naples on Jan. 2, 1930, at the age of 45.

LITERATURE AND DRAMA.—Roland Dorgelès, author of *Les Croix de Bois*, was elected on Nov. 20 by the Goncourt Academy to the seat left vacant by the death of Georges Courteline.—The 1929 literary prize of the Goncourt Academy was awarded on Dec. 4, 1929, to Marcel Arland for his novel *L'Ordre*. Other contenders for the prize were Henri Chéon, Blaise Cendrars and Maximilien Gautier. The winner is a young man of 30 years who published his first book in 1923. The French Letters prize was awarded on Dec. 18 to Mme Guillemette Marrier, a grandniece of the Argentine statesman Juan Manuel Rosas, for her novel *Lokama*.—The printing house of the Vatican State issued early in November a revised edition of the famous *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. Some 4,000 or 5,000 authors are listed therein, of whom

70 or more are Anglo-Saxons, though no American name appears. Italy and France easily lead all other nations, Voltaire having the largest number of titles (39). Among the French and Italian authors mentioned are Balzac, all of whose novels have been proscribed since 1841; Bergson, three of whose philosophical works were condemned in 1914; D'Annunzio, whose books are declared "offensive to faith and morals"; all of the novels of the two Dumas; *Notre Dame de Paris* and *Les Misérables* of Victor Hugo; all of the works of Anatole France, Maeterlinck and Zola; and several of George Sand.—The final ceremony celebrating the centennial of France's oldest literary monthly, *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, was held in the Sorbonne on Dec. 15, 1929, in the presence of President Doumergue. The tenor of the addresses delivered on this occasion was that France will remain true to her classical traditions and high idealism, notwithstanding the present wave of modernization which has swept the country.—While Guglielmo Ferrero of Italy was a candidate for the 1929 Nobel Prize for literature, he failed of election. The only Latin nation represented among the winners of those famous prizes was France, since the 1929 physics prize was awarded to the Duc de Broglie of Paris. France now ranks third among the winning nations of the chemistry and physics prizes since the institution of the Nobel Prizes in 1901, having won 6 in physics and 4 in chemistry. The only person among the 150 Prize winners who has ever succeeded in securing a second award is Mme Curie, who shared the physics prize in 1903 with her husband and Henri Becquerel, and who won the chemistry prize alone in 1911.—M. Paul Morand, the well-known writer, contributed a long article to the *New York Times* of Jan. 12, 1930, entitled "The French Protest America's Play Invasion." In concluding he states: "The French theatre is passing through a crisis. This crisis, by its own faults, it has deserved. Let us hope that the lesson will be salutary and that it will come back victorious."—Among the plays that have aroused the attention of Parisian critics during recent months are Roger Ferdinand's *Touche-à-Tout*, Maurice Donnay and Lucien Descaves' *L'Ascension de Virginie* and Marcel Achard's *La Belle Marinière*, the latter of which, however, is criticized, says Philip Carr in the *New York Times* of Dec. 9, because the dramatist's "bargees talk like the peasants of George Sand." The Paris theatres are now undergoing their usual endemic of protests, the most recent of which being that of the dramatic critics against those managers who have suppressed the répétition générale.—Philip Carr, writing in the *New York Times* of Nov. 10, quotes Marcel Pagnol, author of *Marius* and *Topaze*, as follows: "Literature and the theatre are like cat and dog. It is impossible for them to live together. . . . The theatre is not a matter of writing but of creating living characters who behave and speak as they would in life. Did Molière write so very well, after all? No, no better than anyone else; but he felt things better and he thought better." This, says Mr. Carr, is illustrated in the revivals of Lenormand's *Mixture* and J. J. Bernard's *Le feu qui reprend mal* in both of which plays the characters give the impression not that they are talking literature, but that they "are living and feeling all the time."—Three French silent films which were received favorably by New York audiences during the past few months were "The Madonna of the Sleeping Cars," an adaptation of Maurice Dekobra's novel of the same name, "Venus" and "The Soul of France," the splendid war picture. The *New York Times* of Jan. 5, 1930, contained an editorial entitled "The Future of the Cinema," the subject of which was Bernard Fay's contribution to the December number of the *Revue Européenne*.—Gennaro Mario Curci's *Barbara*, which won the recent award of the Literary and Theatrical Chronicles of Naples, was successfully produced at the Gallo Theatre, New York, on Nov. 17, 1929, under

the direction of G. Emanuel-Gatti. In his review of it in the *New York Times* on Nov. 19, Walter Littlefield said: "It is realism par excellence, but a realism which lacks those touches of the imagination which make Ibsen what he is."—The *New York Times* of Dec. 15, 1929, contained an account of a recently discovered manuscript by Alexandre Dumas in which he describes a visit made to him in Paris by E. A. Poe in 1832. He speaks of the American writer as "a remarkable man," refers to his "power of divination" and describes his eccentricities, especially his love of darkness, which "amounted to a passion." However, in 1832 Poe is generally believed to have settled as a man of letters in Baltimore. Discovering Dumas seems to be the vogue of the day, for recently was issued in New York R. S. Garnett's translation of *On Board the Emma*, a supposedly unpublished journal relating Dumas' adventures aboard his yacht *Emma* in the Mediterranean in 1860, when he was on his way to join Garibaldi at Genoa.—Riccardo Savini contributed, on Nov. 24, 1929, a long article to the *New York Times* regarding the proposed removal of Dante's remains from the present tomb to the Church of St. Francis in Ravenna, where the poet himself "bowed his proud head in worship."

ART.—On Nov. 29, 1929, Ambassador Claudel officially opened the new Rodin Museum, a gift to the city of Philadelphia by the late Jules E. Mastbaum. In an article devoted to this important event, the *New York Times*, of Dec. 8, 1929, states that "the Rodin collection is comprehensive enough to permit of the visitor's forming a general impression of the famous sculptor's art."—On Jan. 1, 1930, the British Royal Academy opened in London a great exhibition of Italian art to which the Italian Government and private collectors loaned many precious treasures. Among the paintings exhibited were nine Titians, mainly portraits, several Botticellis, including the famous "Birth of Venus," Mantegnas, Ghirlandaio, etc. The exhibition will close on March 8.—In the latter part of November, two rooms were set aside in the Château de Fontainebleau as a museum for Rosa Bonheur, the artist, who died at the near-by village of By in 1899. Her most famous painting "Le Marché aux Chevaux" or "Horse Fair" was bought for \$53,000 by Cornelius Vanderbilt, who presented it to the Metropolitan Museum of New York.—Jacques Mauny of Paris contributed to the *New York Times* of Dec. 22, 1929, a very interesting study on Antoine Bourdelle, the sculptor, Pierre Legrain, the master binder, and Jacques Doucet, the greatest French patron of contemporary art, all of whom died during the closing months of 1929.—The *New York Herald Tribune* of Nov. 10 contained a long article by Royal Cortissoz on "French Painting in the Opening Show" of the Museum of American Art in New York. He discusses especially the traits of Cézanne, Gauguin and Van Gogh. That this new art museum has proved to be very popular may also be seen in the long contribution of E. A. Jewell to the *New York Times* on Nov. 10.—The New York School of Fine and Applied Art awarded on Dec. 8, 1929, four scholarships for study in the Paris ateliers of the school and research work in Italy.—The Yale Gallery of Fine Arts announced on Nov. 23, 1929, that 62,000 persons visited its exhibitions during the year. Works of art especially admired were those of De Segonzac, Van Gogh, Pissaro, Rodin, Modigliani, Leoni and Tiepolo, and the Huntington collection of Louis XV furniture.—At the 28th international exhibition of paintings held recently at the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, the first prize among the 392 works on display was awarded, for the second time in four years, to an Italian artist. The large canvas, "In the Studio," by Felice Carena of Florence, received the approval of the judges for its technique and depth of color.—French and Flemish tapestries of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, from the V. and L. Benguiat collection,

were sold on Nov. 30, 1929, at an auction in New York, for more than \$130,000.—Among the recent acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum of Art are a Spanish Gothic beamed ceiling of the fifteenth century, decorated with hunting scenes, and a female torso by Aristide Maillol, whom the Museum authorities call "the greatest living French sculptor." The torso is one of three replicas forming part of "L'Action enchaînée," designed as a symbolic monument to the revolutionist Louis-Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), and erected at Puget-Théniers, France.—Henry Soulange-Bodin issued in December, 1929, in Paris, two volumes describing twenty-five of the most famous châteaux of Normandy, some of which, such as the Château d'O, are famous in history. Recently, volumes describing the Châteaux of the Ile de France were published in the same series, and now others treating of those of Eure, Orne and Seine Inférieure are promised. These works offer a mine of information to the student of architecture and customs of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

MISCELLANEOUS.—The dispute over the Belgian Government's bill conceding to the Flemings that regular classes at the University of Ghent be conducted in Flemish, but offering to those desiring French optional courses in that language, is, according to the *New York Times* of Nov. 26, 1929, arousing bitter discussion in that interesting country. The conditions that obtain in the three Belgian universities are as follows: At Liège, in the Walloon country, lower classes are taught in Flemish, and the rest in French; at Louvain, in the Flemish country, both languages are also used in instruction; while at Ghent the students are taught in Flemish. "The government," says the *Times*, "has been strongly opposed to any sharp line of demarcation for fear such separation in the languages might lead to separation of the Flemish from the Walloon countries." "On the language question Belgium is really divided into three sections. In the Walloon provinces which contain, roughly, half of Belgium's population, French is spoken and the inhabitants are reluctant to learn Flemish. Then, those on the seaboard Flemish provinces, inhabited mainly by fishermen and peasants, who speak Flemish and refuse to learn French. In the other Flemish provinces the inhabitants speak both languages."—In an article in the Oct., 1929, number of *Lectures pour Tous*, André Laphin laments that the old Latin Quarter is no more: a change which he attributes to the enormous growth of the Cité Universitaire, to the influx of foreign students with their national foundations, etc. M. Laphin sees therein a menace to French intellectual growth, for while in 1900 there were 11,000 students registered in the University of Paris, of whom 1,200 were foreigners, in 1927 there were 26,106 students, of whom 18,893 French and 7,215 foreigners. "With money and leisure at their disposal," says an editorial in the *New York Times* of Nov. 22, "it is the foreigners within her gates who launch the literary and artistic styles of Paris." But a more cheerful view is taken by a writer in *La Nouvelle Europe* who sees in the mingling of many nationalities in the Cité Universitaire "a fortunate means of encouraging the youth of different nations to know and understand and like each other."—The New York Committee of Foreign Travel and Study announced on Jan. 2, 1930, that ten foreign scholarships, with stipends of \$1,000 each, will be available to college Sophomores in the spring. Application blanks will be furnished by the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th St., New York City.—At the annual meeting of the France-America Society, held in New York on Dec. 12, 1929, James W. Gerard was elected to the vacancy on the board of directors caused by the death of Myron T. Herrick.—A new daily was born in Paris on Dec. 24, 1929. It is called *L'Ordre* and its editor is Emile Buré, who once made the old *Eclair* a success. Its opening editorial states that "disorder reigns at present, hence a choice must be made quickly:

either let us have Fascism or Bolshevism. Either would bring tranquility. Above all, let us have order. This means liberty, security, prosperity." The editor, who was an intimate friend of Clemenceau, is expected to continue his traditions.—The fiery Léon Daudet, Royalist editor, who was in voluntary exile in Belgium since his farcical escape from the Santé prison of Paris more than two years ago, was granted a pardon on Dec. 30, 1929, by President Doumergue. Among those who signed the request for amnesty was former Premier Herriot, the pet aversion of Daudet while a member of the Chamber of Deputies. Commenting editorially on the "Exile's Return," the *New York Times* of Dec. 28 remarks: "Such is the happy ending to one of the most amusing episodes in the Comic History of France."—A recent article by Walter Littlefield in the *New York Times*, entitled "Dreyfus Case Exposed from the German Side," tends to prove, from secret documents, that the Kaiser was convinced of the French captain's innocence, but would not aid in clearing up a controversy endangering France.—The publication of *Témoins*, the 700-page work of Professor J. N. Cru of Williams College, has aroused much discussion in the press of both France and the United States (cf. editorial in the *New York Times* of Dec. 22, 1930, and the reply thereto by Prof. Cru in the issue of Jan. 12, 1930).—Among the ten greatest women of the world, Emil Ludwig selects, in the November issue of the *American Magazine*, the following: Catherine of Siena, Joan of Arc, Mme. de Maintenon, Mme. Curie and Eleonora Duse.—A Uruguayan writer in the *New York Times* of Dec. 8, 1929, defines the "cholo" as "a mestizo who is proud of his mixed white blood. He feels infinitely above the honest, plodding, old-type indio, or chuncho."—The Academy of the Art of the Young, lately established in France by the young Marseillais, Alfred Nahon, called forth reams of persiflage from critics both in France and elsewhere. It seems to be the old story of *épater les bourgeois, redivivus*, and the young author may be congratulated on his success.—The French Academy is now discussing a successor to the chair made vacant by the death of Georges Clemenceau. Press dispatches of Nov. 26, 1929, attributed the failure of the Tiger to take his seat in the Academy to his reluctance to prepare a eulogy of Emile Faguet, his predecessor. Others, however, think it was due to his unwillingness to be received into the Academy by his old enemy Poincaré.—Antonio Aragon Cortes, Prince Pignatelli, a direct descendant of the Spanish conqueror, Hernán Cortes, was, according to Associated Press dispatches, expelled from Mexico on Jan. 7, 1930, for having sold in the United States valuable documents relating to the last resting place of Cortes. These documents, the Mexican government claimed, belonged to the nation.

J. L. G.

